

Military Chaplains' Review

Winter 1990

The History and Traditions of the Chaplaincy

Introduction to the Winter Issue

The Challenge of the Chaplaincy	<i>Lesley A. Northup</i>
What Do These Stones Mean?	<i>Norris L. Einertson</i>
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Professional Bulletin of the US Army Chaplain Corps

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Military Chaplains' Review

Winter 1990



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Professional Bulletin of the US Army Chaplain Corps

Chief of Chaplains

Chaplain (MG) Norris L. Einertson

US Army Chaplaincy Services Support Agency

Chaplain (COL) Herman Keizer, Jr., Deputy Director

Editor

Chaplain (MAJ) Granville E. (Gene) Tyson

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Introduction to the Winter Issue

Occasionally it is good to sit back and reexamine our roots to fully understand our true identity. This volume attempts to do this, not with purely historical essays, but with stories and articles relating to our past traditions. This is an attempt to provide a broad look at the chaplaincy from the perspective of all three military services, leading off with **Lesley Northup's** excellent article, "The Challenge of the Chaplaincy." Chaplain recruiters and seminaries may find this especially valuable to provide background as well as current information for those interested in our profession.

As we enter the decade of the 90s, we will witness the spate of historical books portraying World War II from 50 years hence. We are fortunate to have an eyewitness account of the Army chaplaincy in war, as seen in the observations of **Charles Wilson**, private, infantry, US Army, detailed as a chaplain's assistant in the 4th Armored Division of Patton's third Army. His keen insights on ministry in combat are unique and valuable. Read and enjoy this chapter, from his yet to be published book, **Frail Children of Dust**.

We all have civilian pastors whose mission is to care for their chaplains endorsed by their respective denominations. Dr. **S. David Chambers**, relates the history of the organization called NCMAF (National Conference on Ministry to the Armed Forces), composed of all these pastors, forming a large and diverse group of pastors, and endorsing agents.

The Summer 1990 issue will feature another look at the JRTC/NTC arena for ministry. Any "lessons learned" or "here's how I did it" stories will be welcome. Articles on chaplain ministry in Panama are also desired. Please have them to me by 1 April.

Chaplain (Major) Granville E. (Gene) Tyson
Editor

The Challenge Of The Chaplaincy

Lesley A. Northup

One day during physical fitness training, a student chaplain missed his landing in a commando pit and fell, clutching his ankle.

“Get up and get going!” screamed the Marine gunnery sergeant.

“I can’t, Gunny,” moaned the victim, “My ankle’s broken.”

“Well, don’t just lie there. Start doing pushups!”

This anecdote, recounted in Chaplain James V. Claypool’s World War II-vintage memoirs, *God on a Battlewagon*, rings just as true for today’s chaplains as it did fifty years ago. I well remember my own training, in which classroom work, close-order drill, and officer indoctrination seemed only a backdrop for the painful lessons inflicted by a gunny who evidenced all the intimidation and none of the charm of the ferocious sergeant in the movie *An Officer and a Gentleman*. Gunny Carter ran us ragged, interspersing his demands and pithy pointers with Vietnam stories and language that often left more sensitive students’ ears burning.

Some gung-ho young chaplains revelled in this gritty slice of military reality; others, maybe a bit older, understood the regimen and its purpose, and smiled quietly at the gunny’s antics. But there were others whose religious convictions clashed loudly with Carter’s offhand profanities and rough tales. More acutely than the rest of us, perhaps, they sensed the inherent cultural conflict in having clergy who are also soldiers and sailors.

The origins of the military chaplaincy, like those of many other cultural institutions, disappear into the shadows of prehistory. Tales abound in our earliest writings of warrior-priests and gods that march before their beloved heroes into battle. But legend has it that true chaplains have as their prototypical forebear St. Martin of Tours. This fourth-century soldier encountered a shivering beggar one cold night and sliced his own cloak in half, giving one piece to the pauper. Later that night, Martin dreamed that he saw Christ wrapped in the cloak; he was promptly baptized. Shortly

LCDR Lesley A. Northup CHC, USNR, is a chaplain in the Navy Reserve with over ten years’ service. She is an Episcopal priest, the first woman of her denomination to become a military chaplain. She teaches professional writing at the University of Maryland.

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thereafter he resigned from the army, saying, "I am Christ's soldier; I am not allowed to fight," and devoted the rest of his life to the church.

In the Middle Ages, Martin was the patron saint of the French monarchy, and the famous cloak was carried before the French army into battle. A priest went along as custodian of the sacred relic, incidentally tending to the king's religious needs; he was called a *cappellanus*, from the Latin for cloak (*cappella*). The place where the cloak was stored became the "chapel."

Throughout the reign of the Church in Europe, the institution of the chaplaincy flourished. National identity and religious identity were one: It seemed both logical and inevitable for priests to accompany armies, especially as the church's rules for liturgical observance became increasingly more demanding on the faithful, and—more tellingly—as superstitions proliferated about the consecrated host and other holy objects. Even after the Reformation, the chaplaincy was rarely questioned; nations still were divided along religious lines, and it was just as important for a German prince to take his Lutheran pastor with him to war as it was for the French or Spanish kings to bring along their priests. The English, with the Catholic system already in place, merely substituted Church of England clergy for the incumbent Roman Catholic priests after Henry VIII's Great Divorce.

It was only when the British colonies became, startlingly, the United States of America that the fourteen-century-old institution of the chaplaincy engendered some disturbing questions. During the colonial and revolutionary periods, there was no debate about the role of chaplains, which was taken for granted. But as the militia system gave way to the establishment of a standing army, difficult issues arose: In a deliberately pluralistic culture, who could best tend to the religious needs of soldiers and sailors? To whom would a military chaplain be answerable?

The military chaplaincy is by its very nature an odd conjunction of roles, institutions, loyalties, and identities. Yet today it is the tension among these cultural rivals that keeps the chaplaincy vital, allows for meaningful ministry, and continues to attract some of the most committed and talented clergy. The history and ethos of the chaplaincy has been played out against this tug-of-war from its inception, and it remains the defining feature of this important ministry.

Historically, this normative tension has occurred in four diads of opposing values: (1) the constitutional question of church vs. state; (2) the ministerial seesaw between denominational loyalty and the reality of religious pluralism; (3) the personal identity issue (minister or officer?); (4) the theological conflict between instruments of peace and those of war. Against this overarching canopy, the changing cultural situation continually presents new challenges. In recent times, these have included the complicated matters of shifting denominational patterns and the entry of women into the chaplaincy.

Church vs. State

The military chaplaincy developed naturally in the young American colonies. Already an institution in countries with established churches, the chap-

laincy seemed an obvious necessity to the European immigrants who generally settled in the New World in religiously defined groups.

The citizen-soldiers of the revolutionary era expected a continuation in war of the parochial care they experienced in peace. Various militia units included in their ranks their local clergymen—some as prayer leaders, some as fighters. Even with the formation of the Continental Army and the gradual involvement of Congress in such military matters as pay, rank, uniforms, and assignments, chaplains were chosen by local units, reflecting their particular religious traditions. This continued until late in the nineteenth century. Rhode Island units had Baptist chaplains, Massachusetts soldiers had Congregationalists, Virginians had Episcopalians, and French Canadians had Roman Catholics. The first Jewish chaplain served with a primarily Jewish unit in 1861.

This sort of religious homogeneity was impossible aboard ship, however, and in the Navy the chaplaincy developed somewhat differently. Naval chaplains had, almost from the start, more federal regulation of their duties than Army chaplains. Since the men on ships reflected no unified denominational tradition, the chaplain's church affiliation was of secondary concern; perhaps an underlying familiarity with things English accounted for the drastically disproportionate number of Episcopal chaplains. In any event, the federal government took an active role in the appointment of Navy chaplains as early as 1799, while as late as 1862, Army chaplains were still selected locally.

When, in the mid-nineteenth century, questions were finally raised about the propriety of the chaplaincy, they centered on whether any particular faith group had been granted a preferred status in the chaplaincy, largely in response to the heavy Episcopal emphasis then present in both services. A Senate committee investigated the matter just after the Mexican War, and declared that the chaplaincy gave no injury to the First Amendment.

The issue remained quiescent throughout the early part of the twentieth century, but surfaced with a vengeance during the late Vietnam era, as denominational leaders, pacifists, and theologians began to question the propriety of the military chaplaincy. The debate culminated in 1979 when two Harvard law students, Joe Katcoff and Allen Weider, filed a lawsuit charging that the chaplaincy violated the establishment clause of the First Amendment. They argued that through the chaplaincy, the government lends its influence to organized religion and religious values, favors some religions over others, and uses tax monies to support professional religious practitioners. The plaintiffs also attempted to demonstrate that adequate ministry could be provided to military personnel by civilian clergy. A federal district judge ruled in March 1984 that the Army chaplaincy was not unconstitutional. Judge Joseph M. McLaughlin wrote in his opinion:

It is not without significance that the first Congress drafted the First Amendment and, at the same time, authorized a paid chaplain for the army. . . . The army chaplaincy program is a constitutionally permissible means to a constitutionally mandated end.

The legal question of the constitutionality of the chaplaincy had been laid to rest, at least for the time being. But the inherent tension between fed-

eral support of institutional religion and the constitutional guarantee against governmental religious establishment remains at the heart of the chaplaincy. This illuminates a second critical area: the chaplains' denominational loyalty versus the need to protect religious pluralism.

Pluralism and Denominational Loyalty

Katcoff and Weider had argued in their constitutional challenge that the chaplaincy violated the establishment clause of the First Amendment. The government also centered its arguments on the First Amendment, citing its "free exercise" clause as the *raison d'être* for the chaplaincy. As the secretary of the Navy has stated: "Chaplains . . . shall provide ministry and facilitate the free exercise of religion for all members of the naval service, their dependents, and other authorized persons . . ." (SECNAVINST 1730.7). The same language, almost verbatim, is echoed in Army and Air Force directives.

Traditionally, this has been interpreted to imply the chaplaincy's direct responsibility for ensuring that each servicemember is given an opportunity to worship, pray, and observe in accordance with the member's own religious preference. It has long been the contention of the various services that free exercise in the military, whose mission necessarily limits the opportunity of individuals to practice their religious beliefs, requires special attention that cannot be provided for adequately by persons who remain outside the institution.

This position was not without its detractors. James Madison himself had expressed concern that it would be impossible to provide minority groups with fair representation in a military chaplaincy. And the nineteenth-century preponderance of Episcopal chaplains—as well as the imposition of Episcopal worship in both the service academies and many military chapels—had led to renewed concern in the 1850s. By 1860, a regulation stipulated that every chaplain was to be permitted to lead worship in accordance with his own tradition. Moreover, both the Army and the Navy began to look more carefully at the denominational balance among their chaplains.

As the institution has evolved, three formal groups of chaplains have been recognized by the military: "Catholics" (i.e., Roman Catholics), Jews, and "Protestants" (which includes everyone else). While these divisions certainly do not sit comfortably with all faith groups—many Anglicans consider themselves Catholics, for example, and the Orthodox are not very happy being called "Protestant"—they do recognize the need to create an inclusive ministry. A rough quota system exists in each service to attempt to balance the denominational affiliations of chaplains with those of the military population. There are now Mormon, Seventh-Day Adventist, and Greek Orthodox chaplains, as well as representatives from many small, independent Protestant sects. Chaplains actively seek to provide appropriate observance opportunities for all the people in their care, regardless of religious preference.

The flip side of the pluralism question, however, is the requirement that each chaplain be an ordained member of a particular denomination.

Although this requirement was not imposed until relatively late—the mid-eighteenth century—it has become a crucial aspect of the chaplaincy system. It is at the root of what Richard G. Hutcheson, Jr., identifies in *The Churches and the Chaplaincy* as the “institutional duality” which underlies all the chaplain’s ministry.

During the twentieth century, as the individual churches took an increasingly active role in determining who could be a chaplain and how a chaplain could function as a denominational representative, this duality both solved and created problems. On the one hand, it tended to weed out both the mavericks who wanted to do their own thing and the narrow-minded traditionalists who could not minister effectively to anyone outside their own faith group. It has also restrained the evangelistic fervor of those who view military personnel as a vast captive audience waiting breathlessly for conversion. But on the other hand, the dual system of loyalties has all too often been a vehicle for political manipulation and denominational gamesmanship.

In practice, the chaplain is both an ordained minister of a particular church and a military officer. To serve in the military, the chaplain must have the endorsement of the denomination. The chaplain is paid by the military, wears military uniforms, and, like all servicemembers, is “owned” by the military. At the same time, the denomination can, and often does, require the chaplain to participate in a variety of church activities, training programs, reporting systems, and so forth.

At times, the tension between these competing loyalties can erupt into open conflict. In the celebrated 1972 case of Chaplain Jensen, the Navy attempted to court-martial a chaplain accused of immoral conduct, and found itself opposed by Jensen’s church, the American Baptist Convention. The Church asserted that it alone had the authority to administer discipline in such a case. While the Navy ultimately recognized the importance (if not the validity) of such claims, its prerogative to try Jensen in accordance with the Code of Military Justice was clearly upheld.

An Officer and a Minister

Institutional duality contributes substantially to another of the chaplaincy’s inherent tensions—the role conflict experienced by the individual chaplain, who is defined as both military officer and religious minister. This tension is played out in many arenas; two that have been consistently problematic throughout the history of the chaplaincy are the matter of rank and the wearing of a uniform.

The granting of rank—in effect, official recognition of the chaplain’s full membership in the military institution—was not mandated for chaplains until the early 1900s. Prior to that time, chaplains were given rank for pay purposes, but wore no insignia and were not promoted along with other officers.

The rationale behind giving chaplains full participation in the rank structure was quite clear: Rankless chaplains had little power to deal effectively with constituent problems, wielded little influence with senior officers, and were considered as something of an adjunct to the system,

rather than integral to it. Establishing chaplains in the rank structure was meant to give the chaplain a meaningful voice in the establishment.

Nonetheless, many argued against rank for chaplains. A long tradition in the British navy set an example for a rankless structure in which the chaplain is assumed to hold the rank of whomever he is talking to. Opponents to rank suggest that the promotion system encourages subservience to senior officers and creates artificial barriers to effective ministry with enlisted personnel. There is also concern that such purely military trappings may dilute the chaplain's primary commitment to ministry.

Nonetheless, surveys of chaplains consistently show a strong conviction that rank is necessary for effective ministry, particularly advocacy functions. While some chaplains feel uncomfortable being so clearly identified as part of the military establishment, most use their rank sparingly and discreetly. It remains customary in all the services for the chaplain to be addressed merely as "Chaplain Johnson," rather than, for example, "Captain Johnson."

Concomitant with this is the matter of uniforms. The services have been haggling over the proper garb for chaplains from the very start. The earliest chaplains generally wore their clerical attire, unless they were also fighting members of their units. Prior to the nineteenth century, no particular uniform was prescribed for chaplains. In the Navy, debate raged over whether they should wear plain black suits or the full officer's uniform for daily dress, and whether the black gown was to be required for divine services. In 1838, chaplains were allowed to wear naval buttons, but the cocked hat and sword were not authorized (the sword, appropriately, still is not). Vestments at worship were made optional. Regulations tottered back and forth, specifying first the uniform, then a black coat, and then the uniform again, until the Civil War. In 1863, chaplains were designated as staff officers, given rank, a distinctive corps device, and a modified uniform. Once again, these adornments were denied a few years later. It was not until the First World War that chaplains gained, permanently, the right to wear the full uniform of the military officer.

The granting of rank and uniform was attacked by religious leaders opposed to the chaplaincy, especially in the 1970s. Reports from various denominational task forces often cited rank and uniform as obstacles to ministry, concessions to militarism, and evidence that clergy were reversing their role priorities. In reality, however, the objections to rank and uniform were merely extensions of the arguments against an institutionalized military chaplaincy; once the concept of an "insider" ministry is accepted, uniform and rank become necessary aspects of being part of the system.

Chaplains have fought through the years for the right to wear uniforms and hold rank, with the respect, influence, and parity they imply. This does not mean, however, that the role conflict between officer and minister has been conclusively resolved in favor of the former. If anything, chaplains seem even more wary of the temptation to overemphasize the military side of their dual commitment, and all too often affect a kind of deliberate sloppiness meant to convey a healthy disrespect for mere trappings. Such strat-

egies usually backfire, negatively affecting both ministry and career. In general, chaplains report that holding rank has been an effective, if somewhat imperfect, tool for advancing the causes of their counselees and for getting things done within the cumbersome military system.

War and Peace

Another source of tension within the chaplaincy is the need to strike a balance between the combative nature of the military mission and the deeply held aversion of most chaplains to belligerence of any kind. This is also an area in which the involvement of the denominations has been keenly felt.

Particularly during the Vietnam era, the various mainline churches began to question seriously their involvement, as endorsing agents, in a chaplaincy they perceived to be supportive of the war effort. Spurred on by *Military Chaplains*, a collection of critical essays edited by theologian Harvey Cox, several major denominations drafted statements suggesting that chaplains should no longer be part of the military establishment. The United Church of Christ was the most vociferous on this point, but the United Presbyterians, the United Methodists, and the Episcopalians also publicly debated their role vis-à-vis the chaplaincy.

Generally, arguments demonstrating the necessity of an institutional chaplaincy to provide adequate ministry were successful, but the debate still continues. In recent months, for example, the Episcopal Church has been considering controversial proposals for abolishing its Office of the Bishop for the Armed Forces and putting chaplains under a committee, rather than under episcopal authority.

Ultimately, the theological conflict inherent in being an ordained person in a military establishment must be resolved by each chaplain. While that personal decision is often complicated by the demands of denominations advancing broad churchwide positions, sometimes the reverse is true. The denomination can provide a source of support when the military has failed to recognize the chaplain's right to conscience. Thus, a United Methodist Army chaplain, Bill Libby, was passed over for promotion because of an unfavorable evaluation filed by a superior who resented Libby's sermon questioning the morality of the Vietnam war. Denominational support helped clear the chaplain's record with the military. In another instance, a chaplain's threat to involve his denomination resulted in the withdrawal of an Army chief of staff's directive that black chaplains could not deliver death notifications to white families.

Today, the theological and moral tension in the chaplaincy seems less painful than it was in the early 1970s, yet it certainly continues to influence the institution. Chaplains now find relative freedom to interpret the Gospel and the Torah as they receive it. Among the ranks of reserve chaplains are those who in civilian life are vocal community activists, executives with the activist National Council of Churches, leaders of alternative ministries, and others whose participation in the military might have seemed unthinkable a few years ago. One of the factors allowing this more open atti-

tude has been the involvement of the churches in the careers of their chaplains.

New Challenges in a Changing Culture

Interwoven into the warp and woof of the chaplaincy's rich fabric are newer issues generated by the changing culture in which it operates. Both the great institutions at whose intersection the chaplaincy is formed—church and armed forces—continue to produce new threads in the texture of the chaplaincy; as each is altered by shifting cultural patterns, they in turn foster new creative tensions.

Perhaps the most significant development in the religious arena is the dramatically changing face of American denominational affiliation and practice. The effects of this phenomenon on the chaplaincy are evident in three principal areas: (1) the vastly altered Protestant scene; (2) recruiting and staffing problems; and (3) the growth of non-Judeo-Christian groups.

As the Protestant picture changes, so does the military ministry. Once chaplains complained that there were too many Episcopalians in their ranks; now the chaplaincy is predominantly Baptist. While this shift reflects the reapportionment occurring nationally between the old mainline churches and the resurgent religious right, it tells only part of the story. Serious questions remain unanswered.

How, for example, can the chaplaincy best account for the growing number of servicemembers who belong to independent free churches, whose clergy often do not meet the educational standards required by the chaplaincies? How can the energetic new evangelical movements be appropriately channeled in a military environment? What is the proper response of a commanding officer who is asked to accommodate individualistic religious observances and practices? How can military liturgical offerings be both inclusive and true to the chaplain's own faith tradition? And perhaps most frightening, how can the often rigorous and intolerant standards applied by members of some of the more judgmental sects be respected without encouraging interpersonal conflict?

Chaplains today are struggling with these issues, trying as always to protect the free exercise of religion while at the same time seeking the balance between individual and institutional needs that is so critical in the military. Perhaps because of its very ecumenical nature, the chaplaincy tends to narrow the gaps which in the civilian world seem to broadly separate churches. An experienced chaplain is likely to interpret church tenets less restrictively than a comparable parish pastor might. This generally works for the good of all; when people live and work together under intimate and highly structured conditions, there is a need to ameliorate strong differences of belief, and most of the tough questions posed by the rapidly evolving Protestant situation are being addressed by chaplains collegially. But the rabid zealot, the fire-and-brimstone preacher, or the evangelist-showman are all unlikely to find a comfortable niche or an effective ministry in the chaplaincy.

In addition to the rapid rise of various denominations on the religious right, other factors have contributed to a growing imbalance in the composition of the chaplain corps. The widening membership gulf between the older denominations—many of which developed strong pacifist theologies during the 1960s and 1970s—and conservative religious groups has contributed to a significant disproportion among those who apply to become chaplains. It is becoming increasingly difficult to recruit from some denominations, while applicants from others must be turned down. Recruitment among black, Spanish-speaking, and other minority clergy remains far too low to be representative of the proportionate number of servicemembers from such groups.

By far the greatest difficulty lies in obtaining adequate numbers of Roman Catholic chaplains. With Roman Catholic ordinations way down, each priest is desperately needed at the parish level; often, bishops and religious superiors cannot spare any of their priests for military work. Even those with strong vocations to the chaplaincy often find they cannot be released to enlist. Because Catholics are not in intercommunion with any Protestant denominations, Catholics in the service cannot be served liturgically by non-Catholic chaplains. Increasingly, the Roman Catholic chaplain shortage is being resolved by hiring contract clergy whose only function is to provide sacramental ministry, a less than ideal situation which does not foster caring pastoral relationships. The problem is also being addressed through an active lay leader program, but there seems no immediate solution; while the Roman Catholic service population is disproportionately large, the availability of priests continues to plummet.

A similar, though less critical, situation applies to Jewish chaplains. The military seems to have difficulty offering competitive career opportunities to many rabbis, who often find they can be more fairly compensated in civilian positions. This perennial shortage, while problematic, is less grievous than that of Roman Catholic priests, since the number of Jewish military members remains relatively low. Still, this important ministry all too often must be entrusted to contract rabbis.

The problems just outlined, awkward as they are, nonetheless occur within the traditional tripartite structure of the chaplaincy: Catholic, Protestant, Jewish. Much harder to deal with constructively is the massive rise in the number of non-Judeo-Christian believers in the service. Spurred by the turn to Eastern religions in the 1960s and the rise of the Black Muslim movement in the 1970s, increasing numbers of Americans have found a spiritual home in Buddhism and Islam. The armed forces have not been indifferent to the needs of these troops. Nonetheless, providing a religious ministry for them has not been a matter of simply hiring chaplains of those faiths.

The first stumbling block has been practical: To become a chaplain, an applicant must have the endorsement of some recognized faith group. Such recognition is usually readily granted, but a group must first apply. The organizational principles of Eastern faiths and Islam vary substantially from those of Christianity and Judaism, and for a long time, there were no formal bodies which could ensure the qualifications of chaplains representing those religions.

Recently, however, a group of Buddhists applied to the Armed Forces Chaplains' Board for recognition as an endorsing agent; the request was approved in November 1987. While no Buddhist candidates have yet come forth, those meeting the requirements of both the service and the Buddhist endorser could theoretically be commissioned. Such a development would present some difficulties. For one thing, there is no appropriate insignia for such chaplains (currently, chaplains wear either a cross or the tablets of the law). More importantly, with only some 1,050 Buddhists in the military, a Buddhist chaplain would have a rather limited—and far-flung—denominational constituency. Like other chaplains, the Buddhist would have a primary ministry to the persons in a particular command—all of them—regardless of their religious affiliation. Considering the cultural differences between the Eastern and Western traditions, this might prove uncomfortable at first.

While there are more Muslims than Buddhists in the service—approximately 1,175—there have been no Muslim chaplains and no potential endorsing agent has applied. Since the function of the imam is quite different from that of the Christian pastor or Jewish rabbi, roles, expectations, and training in Islam do not fit well into the job description as it has evolved in the services. Nonetheless, the commitment to free exercise is firm; in the future, there will surely be chaplains from Muslim, Buddhist, and other non-Western traditions.

Such are the new challenges presented by the shifts in American religion. Meanwhile, the armed forces, too, are changing. An old canard states that “the church always arrives twenty years late and out of breath.” The same can be said of the military, despite its constant efforts to keep up to date. One area in which the service has been a definite latecomer is gender integration. Though women have served in the armed forces for some seventy years, they still represent only about ten percent of military personnel. Women chaplains, admitted since 1973, constitute only some one to two percent of the chaplain force. Currently, there are twenty-one female chaplains on active duty with the Army, twenty-five with the Navy, and thirteen with the Air Force. A few more serve in the reserves.

Like other military women, female chaplains are restricted to non-combat assignments. These congressional limitations severely reduce career-enhancing duty tours, dampening promotion prospects for female chaplains and discouraging full careers. Nonetheless, the ranks of women in the chaplaincy continue to increase as more and more denominations ordain women and job opportunities in the civilian churches continue to be few. A recent survey of active duty female Navy chaplains cited, among other things, the opportunity for a pluralistic ministry, equal pay, professional development enhancement, and collegiality as advantages offered by the military to female clergy.

Nonetheless, this last point—the professional relationship among colleagues—most often occasions complaint. Women chaplains generally agree that while the troops have readily accepted their ministry, other chaplains frequently have not. Such professional rejection no doubt also occurs in the

civilian church, but is felt even more keenly in the closed society of the military.

Women in the chaplaincy are still often seen as trailblazers, and some burn out from the constant questions and expressions of surprise they receive. Others find, as do civilian professional women, that the demands of career and family, particularly when both spouses are in the service, are too difficult to juggle. Still others resent the common assumption that they are there to minister only to women servicemembers. When polled, female Navy chaplains recognized the high attrition rate among them and listed it as one of three problems requiring attention. The other two concerned better integration of women into the chaplain corps and the need for a plan to put more women in supervisory positions. Overall, the ministry of woman chaplains is being increasingly accepted, but those now on the job nevertheless urge new applicants to be thick-skinned and flexible. Chaplain Susan Garmet sums up the situation:

Being a pioneer of high visibility is difficult on a long-term basis. Working with a pioneer can also have its difficulties. However, Navy chaplains can build upon their long history of cooperation among differences. . . . Paving the way for the next generation while serving as a Navy chaplain is not an easy task, but it is infinitely worthwhile. (*The Navy Chaplain*, 12:2 [Winter 1987], 25)

It is precisely this attitude that is echoed in the Navy Chaplain Corps' traditional motto: cooperation without compromise. The various tensions which tug at the chaplain's loyalties constantly create questions for faith and commitment. They demand cooperation—among representatives of different churches, different sexes, different institutions. Chaplains must work well with other religious professionals, and with line officers and enlisted personnel. They must maintain their careers both in the military system and in their own denominations. They must be true both to a particular tradition and to an ecumenical and pluralistic service population. They must be both pastors and officers. They must be part of a machine geared for war, while constantly striving for peace.

Yet the history of the chaplaincy is strewn with the stories of those who achieved this cooperation without compromising, living out of the highest ideals of the chaplaincy. In 1776, Chaplain David Avery served through the siege of Boston, Bunker Hill, the Canadian expedition, Long Island, the retreat through New Jersey, the Christmas crossing of the Delaware, the battle of Trenton, Valley Forge, and Ticonderoga. Chaplain Benjamin Pomeroy volunteered at age 71 and served three years during the Revolution. In 1850, Navy chaplains succeeded in having the odious practice of flogging abolished and, by 1862, also secured a ban on alcoholic beverages aboard ship (not all sailors have appreciated this accomplishment). In 1916, Chaplain Truman Riddle resigned his commission to enlist as an apprentice seaman so we could better understand the situation of the enlisted men; he later rejoined the Chaplain Corps and served with distinction.

During World War II, 124 chaplains were killed from the Army alone. The famous "four chaplains"—one Roman Catholic, one Jewish, and two Protestant—gave their lifejackets and lifeboat seats to others and

died aboard a sinking troopship, arms linked and heads bowed together in prayer. During Vietnam, Chaplain Angelo Liteky personally carried more than twenty wounded men from the field, placing himself between them and enemy fire. Chaplain Charles Watters was killed after carrying seven men to safety at Dak To. Chaplain Vincent Capodanno, seriously wounded, crawled from man to man, administering last rites and praying; he was killed while shielding a wounded man with his own body.

What is the future of the chaplaincy? Certainly, the challenge inherent in the fast-changing cultural milieu will not be met easily. Interdenominational rivalries, the demands of pluralism, changing theologies of public service and violent warfare, social inequities, or a loss of a sense of purpose may bring the history of military chaplaincies to a conclusion. Yet the mission of the chaplain corps is rooted in deep tradition and continues to bear fruit. In war or peace, in eras liberal or conservative, men and women whose lives are at risk, who are separated from home and family, who are committed to the service of their country, have turned to chaplains for counsel, comfort, and ministry. If chaplains can continue to cooperate without compromise, then surely they will be providing their unique and crucial ministry well into the twenty-first century.

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What Do These Stones Mean?

Norris L. Einertson

Editor's Note: the following is a speech given by Chaplain Einertson at the opening of the US Army Chaplains' Museum, 23 May 1989, at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey.

Just after the Israelites had crossed from Moab into Canaan to begin their conquest of the Holy Land, Joshua, by divine command, chose 12 men, one from each tribe, instructing them to each take a stone from the river bed of the Jordan to build a memorial unto the children of Israel forever. This event is recorded in Joshua 4. I will read only verses 21–24:

“In the future, when your children ask you what these stones mean, you will tell them about the time when Israel crossed the Jordan on dry ground. Tell them that the Lord your God dried up the water of the Jordan for You until you had crossed, just as he dried up the Red Sea for us. Because of this everyone on earth will know how great the Lord's power is, and you will honor the Lord your God forever.”

The Bible is replete with admonitions to preserve history. There are seemingly endless genealogies. The scriptures record for us the deeds of the famous and infamous. The Passover Observance, I am told, is the oldest observance in the continuous existence in human history. It is observed by Jews and continued by Christians in Holy Communion. The words of institution contain these words, “This do in remembrance of Me.” The purpose of all these observances is to remember the mighty acts of God as He intervened in history and through His people.

“What do these stones mean?” What do these artifacts, documents, and pictures mean? This museum is not simply a repository for relics, as important as that may be. It tells us and future generations of the ministry of chaplains and chaplain assistants to the men and women of our Army and even to our nation's enemies. This museum is here to instruct the general public, the Army, and the Chaplaincy of the contributions which those who have gone before us have made to our soldiers and their families. We must tell this story for we are all debtors to the past. We stand on the shoulders of those who have gone before us.

Chaplain (Major General) Norris L. Einertson serves as the Chief of Chaplains, US Army. He is a native of Minnesota, and holds degrees from Luther Theological Seminary, and New York Theological Seminary. He is endorsed by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.

What a history we have!

When the long drum roll sounded at Lexington in 1775 among those forming up to challenge the British in the first battle of the Revolution was the Rev. Benjamin Balch. Several hours later, seven other chaplains were at Concord. As a matter of fact, one of the counter-attacks was led by the Rev. Timothy Payson. It is both instructive and amusing to note that when today's infantryman shouts "follow me" he is really quoting this chaplain.

Though chaplain assistants were not officially appointed until 1909, enlisted soldiers always assisted chaplains in their ministry to soldiers.

Since that first day to the present, chaplains and chaplain assistants have been a vital part of the Army's life: from palm to pine, in war and peace, we have marched and bled with our fighting congregations. And the purpose is always the same: ministry.

This museum depicts ministry to our soldiers in the extremity of battle. It contains the records of Chaplain Ferdinand L. Sarner, the first Jewish casualty, so severely wounded at Gettysburg that he was medically discharged.

It contains the World War I uniform of Chaplain Francis P. Duffy of the renowned "Fighting Irish" Regiment—the 69th N.Y. (the 165th Infantry) He won the Distinguished Service Cross serving from the Mexican border in 1916 to the Armistice. What Roman Catholic chaplain, what chaplain of any faith group, doesn't draw strength from his service?

There are bronze plaques recording the names of our dead from the Revolution to Vietnam numbering 220 killed and missing in action plus 13 chaplains and 8 chaplain assistants in Vietnam. From Lexington to Saigon, we were there. From John Lyth in the Revolution to Roger Heinz at DaNang, our colleagues have "died extremely well."

The teaching point is that our nation does not look at her soldiers as soul-less tools of the state, but respects them as those created in the image of God, deserving the best that can be given them, including the care of their souls. When General MacArthur spoke of "men driving home to their objective, and for many, to the judgment seat of God" he recognized the spiritual destinies of our soldiers; not cannon fodder, but creatures of God, accountable to Him, and worthy of the most profound ministrations possible.

What do these stones mean? They tell of chaplains, chaplain assistants, and other soldiers living and dying together. This museum tells of a ministry unique in the annals of military history. They tell of chaplains who as prisoners themselves sustained the faith of fellow prisoners. Chaplains such as Charles McCabe, later a Methodist bishop, who kept hope alive and popularized the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" by singing it over and over to fellow prisoners in Libby Prison. They speak of Frank Sampson, later a Chief of Chaplains, offering mass in a German POW camp. They speak of Emil Kapaun, dying in a Korean POW camp from malnutrition, having given his scant rations to sick comrades. They speak of Chaplain William Dawson, who was captured on Bataan and died a POW; his prayer sums up these heroes of faith: "O God, I pray thee that if this garrison does have to

surrender, that I may go with them and be strong enough to keep Thee in their midst.”

This museum speaks of Chaplain Noah Welles who died in 1776 from illnesses contracted while ministering to British POWs. On a personal level, this museum contains the military cape of Chaplain Gynther Storaasli. He led the old Army Air Corps in 1945 and was their Chief of Chaplains briefly before becoming Commandant of this School. Some of us feel he did not receive the honor he deserved, but he was never bitter. He retired after 30 years of service, and went on to recruit many chaplains who became the leaders of all the military chaplaincies. He was over 70 years old when he recruited me.

By public law the mission of the U.S. Army is to deter war. If deterrence fails, it is to defend our nation.

I am thankful to be a part of the finest peacemaking force in the world. Western Europe, free behind the protection of the men and women of the U.S. Army. South Korea and the Pacific Basin, safe and prosperous behind the same Army. This museum is dedicated to these gallant women and men of God who counted it a privilege to serve our Army. It is a testimony to their ministry and speaks to all who visit a clear and powerful story.

Allow me to close with an illustration from the history of this museum. Following assignment in Vietnam, Chaplain Parker Thompson was assigned to the Chaplain School faculty. As an additional duty, Parker was assigned as curator of the museum. One evening an advanced course student asked for a favor: would he open the museum for a private tour for his visiting brother-in-law, a civilian pastor? Chaplain Thompson spent nearly two hours with him, commenting on the displays to the visitor. As the tour progressed, the guest became increasingly silent, and departed with hardly a thank you.

The next morning the advanced course student reported to Parker, “My brother-in-law came here strongly opposed to the Chaplaincy. He expected that his preconceived notions that chaplains were warmongers would be confirmed. But each display spoke of bringing the peace of God to soldiers. Each display spoke of ministry, even to captured enemies. This museum shattered all his preconceived notions and he was angry. He’ll never be the same again.”

What do these stones mean? These displays are for the glory of God, and the chaplains and assistants through whom He ministers to the men and women of the U.S. Army.

The Emergence Of The Chaplaincy As A Professional Army Branch: A Survey And Summary Of Selected Issues¹

Charles W. Hedrick

Introduction

Chaplaincy in the United States "Army" both antedates the Constitution of the United States, and is an inextricable part of those political events and military engagements that led up to the Continental Congress and the Declaration of Independence. For example, Reverend Benjamin Balch, a Congregationalist minister from Danvers, Massachusetts, served as a Lieutenant in the civilian militia that fought the British on Lexington Green on April 19, 1775, and later he volunteered to serve as chaplain in a regiment commanded by Ephraim Doolittle.²

And the Reverend William Emerson, a Congregationalist minister of Concord, Massachusetts, served as chaplain to the militia that fought the same British force later that same day, at Concord.³ Like all the men who

Chaplain (COL) Charles W. Hedrick USAR, is an Individual Mobilization Augmentee to the Office of the US Army Chief of Chaplains in the area of Personnel Management. He is Professor of Religious Studies at Southwestern Missouri State University, and holds a Ph.D. from Claremont Graduate School in New Testament and Christian Origins. He is endorsed by the Southern Baptist Church.

¹This paper is dedicated to the memory of Chaplain Orville J. Nave, an early activist in behalf of a professional Army Chaplaincy.

²Parker C. Thompson, *The United States Army Chaplaincy. Volume One: From Its European Antecedents to 1971* (5 Vols.; Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, 1978) I.89. I am following the historical reconstruction of history reflected in this five volume set, and I am relying on their research for this summary of selected issues, except in those cases where I cite primary source material. My primary contribution lies in assembling and organizing their material. To Chaplain (Colonel) Wayne E. Kuehne, Director, Plans, Policy Development and Training, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, goes the credit for having recognized these recurring patterns that track through the history of the U.S. Army Chaplaincy. And my gratitude goes to Mrs. Marie Walker for having translated my unintelligible scribbling into comprehensible prose.

³Thompson, *United States Army Chaplaincy*, I. 90-92. There were eight clergymen who served at the battle of Lexington and Concord (I. 267); three of whom served in the war as chaplains.

served in the military in those early days, these clergymen were civilian volunteers (we had no Regular Army), who answered the call to arms. They were “professional” only by virtue of their calling and training as clergymen. They were not “professional” military chaplains. In fact, it will be 145 years before the Chaplaincy as a professional branch of the United States Army formally begins. The watershed for the Army Chaplaincy as a professional branch is the National Defense Act of 1920 that provides for the office of the Chief of Chaplains.⁴ Prior to that Act of Congress, it was simply not possible for chaplains to realize their full professional potential, nor was it possible for chaplains to render their unique ministries effectively to the military community, as history shows on both counts.⁵

The purpose of this paper is to track those events that led up to the chaplaincy as a professional branch. I have focused on three issues that consistently recur through the history of the Army Chaplaincy: contract versus commission of chaplains, the assignment and supervision of chaplains, and the affirmation of, and challenge to, the Army Chaplaincy. All three issues are basic to the essential character of the chaplaincy. It is their satisfactory resolution that has led to the high degree of professionalism that currently exists in the US Army Chaplaincy.

The regimental chaplains system was abolished in the British Army on September 23, 1776; at which time the British formally organized a Chaplains’ Department.⁶ As incredible as it may seem, there was no centralized administration of chaplains in the US Army until WWI, and then it covered only the Army Expeditionary Force in Europe!⁷ The National Defense Act of 1920 for the first time made provision for an Office of the Chief of Chaplains and by that act a centralized and effective management system for chaplains.

I. Contract versus Commission of Chaplains

Some twenty-five years before the Continental Congress of the United States, George Washington, under appointment as Colonel by the Governor of Virginia, Robert Dinwiddie, was charged with protecting Virginia’s frontier, some 300 miles of wilderness. During that period of duty (1756–1758) Washington wrote on several occasions to the governor and the state assembly about the need for appointing a regimental chaplain.⁸ In a letter to Robert Dinwiddie, dated September 23, 1756, he notes that the men of the Corps so favor the presence of a unit chaplain that they proposed supporting one at their private expense, but Washington felt that “it would have a more graceful appearance were he appointed as others are.”⁹

⁴Earl F. Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy 1865–1920. Volume Three: Up From HandyMan* (5 Vols.; Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, 1977) III. 225.

⁵This statement is not intended to reflect negatively on those who served prior to 1920. That they served soldiers with distinction was not because of the system but in spite of it, as history shows.

⁶Thompson, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, I. xiv.

⁷Robert L. Gushwa, *The United States Army Chaplaincy 1920–1945. Volume IV: The Best of Times and The Worst of Times* (5 Vols.; Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, 1977) IV. 6.

⁸Thompson, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, I. 56–58.

⁹John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Man-*

Washington's desire for a regimental chaplain was not simply that he wanted to provide religious services for his troops, as these were already being conducted by civilian clergymen.¹⁰ He preferred an appointed chaplain to an arrangement with civilian clergymen probably because of efficiency and field coverage.¹¹ Washington eventually received authority to appoint a chaplain,¹² but the issue posed by his letter of September 23, 1756, contract or commission, has continued to resurface throughout the history of the Army chaplaincy even into the twentieth century. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts sought to provide for the religious needs of their militia forces apparently by securing the services of civilian clergymen. They resolved (May 25, 1775) to have civilian clergymen, who had volunteered, serve the needs of the Army "in their general towns to the number of thirteen at one time, during the time that the army shall be encamped."¹³ By July 29, 1775, however, the Continental Congress had voted to authorize pay for chaplains (20 dollars per month; the same amount extended to captains and Judge Advocates),¹⁴ and commission them into given regiments.¹⁵ This decision of the Congress to commission and pay chaplains established a legal federal basis for the chaplaincy and is a judgment that no succeeding Congress has totally reversed.¹⁶ And it is clear that the Congress intended that the practice of religion be

uscript Sources, 1745–1799. Volume 1: 1745–1756 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931) I. 470; see also 498, 505, 510, and *Volume 2: 1757–1769*, II. 33, 56, 178.

¹⁰Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of George Washington*, I. 473, and Thompson, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, I. 58.

¹¹I base this judgment on the facts: that Washington had considerable combat experience during these two years (Thompson, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, I. 57); that he had to march his men "as usual to the Fort" for religious services (Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of George Washington*, I. 473); and that Washington was a religious man (Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of George Washington*, II. 343 and Thompson, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, I. 58).

¹²Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of George Washington*, II. 178.

¹³Thompson, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, I. 104. See *American Archives. Fourth Series Containing a Documentary History of the English Colonies in North America From the Kings Message to Parliament of March 7, 1774 to the Declaration of Independence* (6 vols; Washington: Clarke and Force, 1939) II. 815. The language is not clear. Thompson takes it to refer to civilian clergymen who serve on a rotating basis. But the early part of the report says "Whereas if it is necessary that chaplains should be appointed in the Massachusetts Army. . . ." It is equally possible that the clergymen "with the leave of their congregations" were appointed "pro tem" i.e., for a short period. This was actually the case with Samuel Langdon, President of Harvard. He was appointed as chaplain April 29, 1775 (*Papers of the Continental Congress*, M247, r98, i78, v14, p.23) and discharged six months later on October 30, 1775 (*Papers of the Continental Congress*, M247, r98, i78, v14, p.19).

¹⁴Chauncey Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress 1774–1789* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905) II (May 10–September 20).

¹⁵Congress recommended that all officers and soldiers diligently attend Divine Services and directed penalties for persons behaving "irreverently at any place of Divine Worship." Commissioned officers "shall be brought before a court-martial, there to be publicly and severely reprimanded by the President." Non-commissioned officers and soldiers would be fined, and the money used for sick troops of the unit (article II). They required that the sutler shops be closed on "Sunday, during divine service, or sermon, on the penalty of being dismissed from all future suttling" (article LXIV).

¹⁶See the discussion below.

institutionalized and integrated into the army,¹⁷ even though they did not provide for chaplains in their authorization for the raising of six rifle companies on June 14, 1775,¹⁸ by virtue of articles II¹⁹ and LXIV²⁰ of the “articles of war.” The practice of the Continental Congress was that chaplains were “appointed” to army units by action of Congress.²¹ Except that on September 18, 1777 they approved the appointment of two chaplains for the hospitals.²² Thompson quotes a copy of the commission as chaplain given to Reverend Hephzibah Smith by the Continental Congress to the Battalion of Colonel John Mixon. It is clear from the commission that Chaplain Smith was an officer (without rank) of a given regiment, who was appointed “to exercise the . . . duties of [his] office. . . .”²³

From the end of the Revolutionary War until 1818 Congress equivocated on the army chaplaincy. On June 2, 1784, Congress virtually abolished the army,²⁴ but was forced immediately (June 3, 1784) to raise a military force (including a regimental chaplain!)²⁵ extending it for twelve months, and then for three years (but no chaplain mentioned).²⁶ On September 29, 1789 Congress established “troops in the service of the United States.” And on April 30, 1790 they enacted into law “an Act for regulating the Military Establishment of the United States.” In both of these Acts there is no provision for a chaplain. But in both cases Congress is still setting a limited time frame for the extent of the Act. The usual time frame is for three years.²⁷

¹⁷See also note 39 below.

¹⁸Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, II. 89. This military structure clearly was not intended to address all obvious necessities of a military army. Compare the resolutions of June 14, 1775, with July 29, 1775. The resolution of June 14, 1775, only provided for the raising of six companies of riflemen; the “army” as such apparently already existed “near Boston,” where the companies were directed to join them. The resolution of July 29, 1775, should be considered as fiscal provision and federal authorization of what was already existing and serving without formal authority. That Congress was in the process of catching up with events is shown by further provision for a Commander-in-Chief and General Staff (June 15–16, 1775) (Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, II. 90–95).

¹⁹Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, II 112.

²⁰Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, II. 121.

²¹There is an interesting exception to this practice. Samuel Langdon, President of Harvard, was “appointed chaplain of the army in Cambridge” on April 29, 1775 (*Papers of the Continental Congress*, National Archives M247, r98, i78, v14, p. 23). On August 15, 1775, four colonels of that command provided him with certification of his service to their units, noting that he could not be listed with any particular regiment since he had received a “general appointment” to the “army in Cambridge.”

²²Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, VIII. 754.

²³Thompson, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, I. 105.

²⁴Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXVII. 518–24. See also William A. Ganoe, *The History of the United States Army*, (New York: Appleton, 1934) 90. and Thompson, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, I. 219–20.

²⁵Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXVII. 530–40; Ganoe, *The History of the United States Army Chaplaincy*, 91–95 and Thompson, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, I. 220. However, no chaplain was ever appointed; see James R. Jacobs, *The Beginning of the U.S. Army 1783–1812* (Princeton: University Press, 1947) 20.

²⁶Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXVIII. 223–24 (April 1, 1785), 239–41 (April 7, 1785), 247–48 (April 12, 1785); XXXIII. 602–4 (October 3, 1787); Ganoe, *The History of the United States Army*, 92, 95.

²⁷*Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America* (Boston: Little and Brown) I

On March 3, 1791, they raised a second regiment like the force authorized the previous year, except that it also authorized the President to appoint a major-general, brigadier-general, a quartermaster, and chaplain if such be "essential to the public interest."²⁸ The next day, March 4, 1791, President Washington appointed Reverend John Hart as chaplain.²⁹ In the Act of March 5, 1792, we find the chaplain on the general staff and receiving pay of 50 dollars per month (the same as the deputy quartermaster).³⁰ In the Act of May 8, 1792, establishing a uniform militia throughout the United States, chaplains are not mentioned.³¹ Nor were chaplains provided for in the Act of May 9, 1794, providing for a Corps of Artillery and Engineers.³² On March 3, 1795, Congress voted "that the present military establishment of the United States . . . is hereby continued."³³ In Acts of March 30, 1796; March 3, 1797; April 27, 1798; May 28, 1798; June 22, 1798; and March 2, 1799, the chaplain is not mentioned.³⁴ But in the Act of July 16, 1798 Congress provided for four chaplains to be assigned to the general staff.³⁵ Subsequent Acts of March 16, 1802; April 12, 1808; June 26, 1812; July 6, 1812; March 30, 1814; and March 3, 1815, include no appropriation for a chaplain.³⁶ An Act of April 24, 1816, provides for one chaplain for each brigade of the Army,³⁷ and an Act of March 2, 1803 adds a chaplain to the regiments of the state militias.³⁸ Congress did have concerns (as have subsequent Congresses) about the religious welfare of the army, however, as is reflected in an Act of April 10, 1806, when they again established rules and articles to govern the Armies of the United States,³⁹ and encouraged officers and soldiers to attend religious services, mandated a chaplain's attendance to his duties, and directed that businesses be closed during

(1st–5th Congress, 1789–99). Act of September 29, 1789 (1st Congress, Session I, Chap. XXV) and Act of April 30, 1790 (1st Congress, Session II, Chap. 10).

²⁸*Public Statutes at Large*, I. Act of March 3, 1791 (1st Congress, III Session, Chap. XXVII, Sec. 5). This Act was later repealed.

²⁹Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of George Washington*, XXXI. 228. This is the date usually given for the beginning of the Chaplaincy of the Regular Army of the United States (Thompson, *The United States Chaplaincy*, I. 221) but it should be noted that Congress authorized this force for only a three year period (Act of March 3, 1791, Sec. 3). The Act of September 29, 1789 is usually accepted as the date for the establishment of the Regular Army of the United States.

³⁰*Public Statutes at Large*, I (2nd Congress, Session I, Chap. IX, Sec. 7).

³¹*Public Statutes at Large*, I (2nd Congress, Session I, Chap. XXXIII).

³²*Public Statutes at Large*, I (3rd Congress, Session I, Chap. XXIV). Chaplain John Hart resigned his commission effective April 30, 1794. He was followed by Chaplain David Jones (May 3, 1794–June 15, 1800); Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 3, 5.

³³*Public Statutes at Large*, I (3rd Congress, Session II, Chap. XLIV, Sec. 1).

³⁴See the appropriate dates in *Public Statutes at Large*, Volume I.

³⁵*Public Statutes at Large*, I (5th Congress, Session II, Chap. LXXVI). These positions were apparently continued through Acts of March 3, 1799 and May 14, 1800 until repealed by the Act of March 16, 1802, Sec. 9, which called for "supernumerary officers" to be discharged.

³⁶See the respective dates in *Public Statutes at Large*, Volume II.

³⁷An Act to organize the General Staff of the Army: *Public Statutes at Large*, III (14th Congress, Session I, Chap. 69, Sec. 2).

³⁸*Public Statutes at Large*, II (7th Congress, Session II, Sec. 3).

³⁹*Public Statutes at Large*, II (9th Congress, Session I, Chap. 20, Sec. 2, 4, 29).

religious services. On April 14, 1818, however, they were clear: the chaplains that had been provided for each brigade of the army were abolished, along with surgeon and judge advocates. But in the same act (!) a chaplain was appointed to the Academy at West Point. He would also serve as professor of geography, history, and ethics.⁴⁰

From 1818 to 1838, except for the Regular Army chaplain at West Point, there were no chaplains in the Regular Army. Any ministry to the Army was provided by civilian clergymen on the basis of the initiative of local commanders.⁴¹ On July 5, 1838, largely due to public pressure,⁴² the Congress legalized the unofficial civilian contract system and set the pay of the (civilian) chaplains, who would also serve as schoolmaster, as not exceeding 40 dollars per month. Appointments could be made only with the approval of the Secretary of War.⁴³ The language used in the legislation suggests that from 1838 to the beginning of the Civil War (1861), except for the Regular Army chaplain at West Point, chaplains are civilian contract clergymen (*italics below are mine*):

July 5, 1838: "... to *employ* such person ... to *officiate as* chaplain ... the person so *employed* ...

July 7, 1838: "The posts at which chaplains shall be *allowed*..."

February 11, 1847: "to *employ* some proper person to *officiate as* chaplain ... and the person so *employed* ..." (Sec. 7).

March 2, 1849: "... extended so as to authorize the *employment* of ten additional chaplains, for military posts ..." (Sec. 3).

And it is quite clear in the Act of February 11, 1847 that this system was clearly inappropriate for troops engaged in combat.⁴⁴ Congress approved "councils of administration of the several regiments constituting a brigade ... to employ some proper person to officiate as chaplain to such brigade; and the person so employed shall ... receive ... seven hundred and fifty dollars ... per annum. *Provided*, that [during the war with Mexico] the chaplains now attached to the regular army ..." go with the troop "for service in the field." If the chaplains do not go, "the office of such chaplain shall be deemed vacant and the pay and emoluments ... stopped." Clearly from this statement the chaplain was regarded as a civilian employee of the military, and clearly the Congress had not foreseen that such a system was simply unworkable in the time of war, if they desired to provide for the religious needs of combat troops in the field.⁴⁵ The only control they had

⁴⁰*Public Statutes at Large*, III (15th Congress, Session I, Chap. 64, Sec. 1 and 2).

⁴¹Herman A. Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*. Volume 2: Struggling for Recognition 1791-1865 (Washington: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, 1977), II. 43-47.

⁴²Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II, 47-49.

⁴³*Public Statutes at Large*, V (25th Congress, Session II, Chap. 162, Sec. 18). Two days later the number of such chaplains was limited to 20 (*Public Statutes at Large*, V, Act of July 7, 1838 (Chap. 194) and in an Act of March 2, 1849, the number of such chaplains was increased to a total of 30: *Public Statutes at Large*, V (30th Congress, Session II, Chap. 83, Sec. 3). As a side issue, after the beginning of war with Mexico because of adverse publicity, the President apparently in a discretionary move *appointed* two Roman Catholic priests for services with Taylor's army in Mexico but made no provision for Protestant chaplains: Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 65-67.

⁴⁴*Public Statutes at Large*, IX (29th Congress, Session II, Chap. VIII, Sec. 7).

⁴⁵But in an Act of March 3, 1855, Congress amended an Act of September 28, 1850

over civilian employees was that they forfeited their position.⁴⁶

At the beginning of the Civil War, the country was ill-prepared for war in many ways, chief among them lay in poor preparations for chaplain coverage. Congress had previously approved funding for only 30 (contract) chaplains, which they intended to be scattered among the most destitute posts, and for one Regular Army (commissioned) chaplain at West Point. President Lincoln on May 3, 1861 issued a call for state militias and for an increase in the Regular Army.⁴⁷ Many of the militia units arrived with their own chaplains appointed by the governors of the various states. In order to standardize the militia with the federal and to provide more chaplains for the Regular Army, President Lincoln issued General Order 15 (militia) and 16 (Regular Army) on March 4, 1861. Both of the orders directed regimental commanders to appoint one chaplain to the regiment upon the "vote of the field officers and company commanders on duty with the regiment, at the time the appointment is to be made." The chaplain so appointed must be a regularly ordained minister of some Christian denomination.⁴⁸ All who met these qualifications were then brought into Federal Service as chaplain with their units.⁴⁹

Lincoln's general orders were subsequently affirmed by Acts of Congress on July 22, 1861, and August 3, 1861. Congress specified that chaplains be appointed to regiments on the vote of field officers and company

(*Public Statutes at Large*, IX [31st Congress, Session I, Chap. 85]) to include chaplains and others who had initially been omitted from receiving acreages of land for their war service. There is a certain inconsistency involved. See *Public Statutes at Large* X (33rd Congress, Session II, Chap. 206, Sec. 10). In the language in the *Congressional Globe* the discussion about the chaplains is somewhat inconsistent also with the senators using both the term "employ" and "appoint" almost interchangeably. What is clear, however, is that they were woefully uninformed of the nature of a professional military chaplaincy (*The Congressional Globe*, 29th Congress, Session II, pp. 216-17, 220-23). But they did clearly recognize the sensitive nature of the chaplaincy and the problems of assigning chaplains in the commands; see comments by Siever (P. 220) and Butler (p. 223). From the *discussion* one might reasonably assume they *intended* for chaplains to be *appointed*, but that is not what the language of the statute reflects.

⁴⁶Indeed during this period men were employed for the chaplaincy position who were not ministers, thus prompting the Adjutant General to require that nominations for the positions be accompanied by the "recommendations of the highest ecclesiastical authority." See Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 50.

⁴⁷*War of Rebellion. A Compilation of the Official Record of the Union and Confederate Armies* (130 vols.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899) Series III, vol I. 145-46. His call up of the state militia relied on a law of 1795 but his unilateral increase of the Regular Army was in violation of the law. See Ganoe, *The History of the United States Army*, 249-50, and Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 83.

⁴⁸*War of Rebellion*, Series III, vol. I. 154, 157. Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 83. Securing a chaplain by popular vote is scarcely an efficient or reliable method, nor would it tend, necessarily, to secure the most capable or to enhance the professionalism of the body of men who served. But in the absence of a system that anticipated such contingencies, and in the face of the crisis facing the country, it at least met the challenge. Choosing a chaplain by popular vote certainly speaks to the sensitivity of the chaplain's position in the unit. Norton (*The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 83) notes that they must also be approved by a state governor in order to be brought into the militia.

⁴⁹*War of Rebellion*, Series III. Vol. I. 327 (General Order 44). Norton (*The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 83) seems to suggest that there was a separate act of commission, which does not appear to be the case. However, General Order 44, July 13, 1861, requires that

commanders; that the chaplain must be a regularly ordained minister of a Christian denomination. He was required to report quarterly to the commander on the morale and religious condition of the regiment and to make suggestions to "conduce" the "social happiness and morale improvement of the troops."⁵⁰

During September through November 1861, President Lincoln, acting without the approval of Congress, sent letters to civilian clergymen asking them to serve voluntarily as chaplains to military hospitals and promising to recommend to Congress that they be compensated "at the same rate as chaplains in the Army."⁵¹ They were, during this time, civilian contract chaplains (without contract!) as President Lincoln's report to Congress of December 3, 1861 makes clear:

By mere omission, I presume, Congress has failed to provide chaplains for hospitals occupied by volunteers. This subject was brought to my notice. . . . These gentlemen . . . have labored faithfully. . . . I therefore recommend that they be compensated at the same rate as chaplains in the Army. I further suggest that general provision be made for chaplains to serve at hospitals, as well as with regiments.⁵²

In other words, the contract situation was a "stopgap" measure in the mind of the President. A subsequent Congressional Act of May 20, 1862 legalized the President's actions and provided for a chaplain at each permanent hospital with provisions for the President to appoint "if he shall deem it necessary, a chaplain for each permanent hospital, whose pay, with that of chaplains of hospitals heretofore appointed by him, shall be the same as that of regimental chaplains in the volunteer force; and who shall be subject to such rules in relation to leave of absence from duty as are prescribed for commissioned officers of the army."⁵³

The language is strange and seems to imply that they were thinking that such hospital chaplains would be continued on "civilian contract." Their pay would be the "same as" regimental chaplains "of the volunteer force," and they would be subject to the same rules "as . . . commissioned officers in the Army." This is borne out somewhat in later legislation when Congress fixing the pay of officers in the Army set the chaplain's pay at one hundred dollars per month for "all chaplains in the regular or volunteer service or army hospitals. . . ." The legislation goes on to distinguish among the "appointment of chaplains in the army and volunteers, and the appointments of chaplains to army hospitals." And further adds that commanding officers were "to inquire into the fitness, efficiency, and qualifications of the chaplains of hospitals, or regiments."⁵⁴ As I read Lincoln's statement to

chaplains appointed to volunteer units be "mustered into the service in the same manner as prescribed for commissioned officers." There was something of a problem with the chaplains. The paymaster initially refused to pay chaplains of the federalized militia (*War of Rebellion*, Series III, vol. I. 368) and the Secretary of War had to direct that they be paid (*War of Rebellion*, Series III, vol. I. 375).

⁵⁰*Public Statutes at Large*, XII (37th Congress, Session I, Chap. 9, Sec. 9; but compare Chap. 42, Sec. 7).

⁵¹*War of Rebellion*, Series III, vol. I. 721.

⁵²*War of Rebellion*, Series III, vol. I. 712.

⁵³*Public Statutes at Large*, XII (37th Congress, Session II, Chap. 79, Sec. 2).

⁵⁴*Public Statutes at Large*, XII (37th Congress, Session II, Chap. 200, Sec. 9).

the Congress, however, it seems that he intended that there be no difference in the status of chaplains that serve in hospitals and regiments. Heretofore the legislation had specifically limited Army chaplains to regiments; Lincoln wanted "general provision" to permit army chaplains to serve at hospitals as well as regiments. The confusion is the result of the President and Congress trying to "micro-manage" chaplains in an army which lacked clearly delineated policy on army chaplains.

An Act of July 17, 1862 set the chaplain's salary at 100 dollars per month. But because of the poor wording of the Act, it was used by paymasters to discriminate against chaplains while they were sick, wounded, prisoners, or while away on special duty.⁵⁵ In attempting to straighten out the pay of chaplains, Congress in an Act of April 9, 1864 tried to establish the official status of chaplains and to explain to the Army that the chaplain was a commissioned officer as any other officer. The Act recognizes "the rank of chaplain without command, in the regular and volunteer service." They are to be carried on the field and staff rolls, and "shall wear such uniform as is or may be prescribed by the army regulations, and shall be subject to the same rules and regulations as other officers of the army."⁵⁶

This recognition is an important milestone in the emergence of a professional chaplains' branch, but the language is still unclear, at least at the beginning of the section. Do they mean that there is such a thing as a rank designated "chaplain" (viz. First Lieutenant, Captain, Chaplain, Major, etc.), or are they saying that chaplains hold a specific rank in the Regular Army rank structure, but simply do not hold command? It is probably the former as the legislation of March 2, 1867 shows.⁵⁷

After the Civil War the numbers of chaplains in service went from a war-time high of 1,068 in 1863 serving in the Regular Army and volunteers, to the pre-war number of 30 in the Regular Army. Hence they reverted to the "contract" system that was the practice before the war: 30 chaplains employed by Post Councils of Administration. They held no commission and performed the dual duties of chaplain and school master at posts the Secretary of War through were the "most destitute of instruction."⁵⁸

On July 28, 1866 Congress directed that "one chaplain may be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Sen-

⁵⁵*Public Statutes at Large*, XII (37th Congress, Session II, Chap. 200, Sec. 9). There was some debate in Session I of the Senate (*Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, Session I, p. 100) disapproving of the requirement that a chaplain be appointed from some "Christian" denomination. The Act of July 17, 1862, replaced "Christian denomination" with "religious denomination" (Sec. 8).

⁵⁶*Public Statutes at Large*, XIII (38th Congress Session I, Chap. 53); Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 107.

⁵⁷It did indeed cause some difficulty as a letter from the Assistant Adjutant General to the Adjutant General indicates (*War of Rebellion*, Series III, vol. I. 809) and a report of the Adjutant General to the President makes very clear (*War of Rebellion*, Series III, vol. III. 1207).

⁵⁸Earl F. Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy 1865-1920. Volume Three. Up From Handyman* (Washington: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, 1977) III. 2. See also note 43 above. This was in accordance with an Act of July 7, 1838.

ate, for each regiment of colored troops.”⁵⁹ Since Congress had authorized two regiments of cavalry (Sec. 3) and four regiments of infantry (Sec. 4) to be comprised of “colored troops,” this meant making provision for six new chaplains to the army, in addition to the chaplain at West Point (Sec. 1)⁶⁰ and the 30 post chaplains “as at present authorized [i.e., 30], who shall be appointed as now provided by law” (Sec. 7). The regimental chaplains are also charged with educating “the enlisted men in the common English branches of education.” The legislation goes out of its way to reaffirm “existing laws respecting the rank, pay and allowances of chaplains of the army” as established in the Act of July 17, 1862.

The language of this legislation is confusing. It provides that the post chaplain “shall be appointed as now provided by law” (Sec. 7). The term “appoint” is apparently equivalent to “commission” as Sec. 29 shows (*italics mine*): “officers who have heretofore been *appointed or commissioned* to serve with United States colored troops shall be deemed and held to be officers of volunteers, and officers of the regular army who have also held commissions as officers of volunteers or have commanded volunteers shall not on that account be held to be volunteers under the provisions of this act.” And clearly the six new positions were regarded as “officers” since they were “entitled to transportation at the same rate as other officers” (Sec. 30). This holds true for the post chaplain “who shall be appointed as now provided by law.”

If questions remain as to the chaplain’s status in the Army, they are completely resolved in an Act of March 2, 1867.⁶¹ With this Act, Congress abolished the chaplain “contract” system, that had been followed by the country in peacetime since 1818, and directed that “the post chaplains now in service, or hereafter to be appointed, shall be commissioned by the President, and all vacancies occurring in the grade of chaplain, which is hereby established to rank as captain of infantry, shall be filled by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.” And it goes on to say (!): “and all army chaplains shall hereafter be on the same footing as to tenure of office, retirement, allowances for service and pensions, as now provided by law for other officers of the Army” (Sec. 7). The chaplain is now fully integrated by legislation into the army structure with rank established as captain.⁶²

Following 1867 it was recognized that there were simply insufficient chaplains to provide for the religious needs of the military,⁶³ and that there

⁵⁹*Public Statutes at Large*, XIV. Act of July 28, 1866 (39th Congress, Session I, Chap. 299, Sec. 30).

⁶⁰The chaplain at West Point is not specifically named but since he had already been appointed to West Point, Section 1 is a tacit affirmation for his continued service. In 1869 the number of chaplains was reduced from 36 to 34 when the four black infantry regiments were consolidated into two units (Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 3).

⁶¹*Public Statutes at Large*, XIV (39th Congress, Session II, Chap. 145).

⁶²While the language “grade of chaplain” is still somewhat obscure, it is clear that this legislation does establish that the chaplain has rank.

⁶³See Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 73. Secretary of War Procter in 1889 asked Congress as a temporary measure to appropriate funds to employ clergymen at posts where there were no chaplains assigned.

needed to be some incentives for chaplains built into the army system.⁶⁴ There was even a recommendation by the Secretary of War to Congress that a "corps" for chaplains be established⁶⁵ and a bill (H.R. 3868) initiated in Congress "to increase the number of chaplains in the Army, to define their duties, and increase their efficiency." But Congress did not enact the bill.⁶⁶

In an Act of February 2, 1901 the chaplains are formally recognized by Congress as an entity (branch?).⁶⁷ They are listed as "the chaplains" in Section one that sets out the various departments, corps, and groups of the Army. The legislation goes on to create some of the basic essentials of a professional branch. The President is authorized to appoint with the approval of the Senate "chaplains in the army at the rate of one for each regiment of cavalry and infantry . . . and twelve for the corps of artillery." Hence the number of chaplains authorized for the Army increases from 34 to 57. The legislation goes on to affirm in unambiguous language that chaplains have the "rank, pay, and allowances of a captain of infantry." The Office of Post Chaplain, that had stymied the professional development of chaplains, is abolished. The legislation establishes a maximum age of 40 years for appointment and mandates that the chaplain must establish his fitness as required by law. An important new element is a provision for transfer in the military structure, which in effect destroys the patronage system that was in effect when chaplains were appointed by commanders upon vote of the unit.

... officers now holding commissions as chaplains, or who may hereafter be appointed chaplains, shall be assigned to regiments or to the corps of artillery. Chaplains may be assigned to such stations as the Secretary of War shall direct, and they may be transferred, as chaplains, from one branch of the service, or from one regiment to another by the Secretary of War, without further commission.

⁶⁴Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 74. Oddly enough the Adjutant General believed that conferring rank on chaplains "would seriously affect their usefulness as teachers of Christianity."

⁶⁵In the *Annual Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1891* (5 vols.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892) presented to Session I of the 52d Congress in Volume V: *Annual Reports of the Inspector-General of the Army*, page 18: "The soul of an army is organization. Our chaplains have none. They belong at no particular place nor to any special clan. There is but little question as to the proper station of the regimental chaplains, but all sorts of questions of health and usefulness and favoritism arise about the others. If the fullest efficiency is to be gained by these very worthy gentlemen a [feeling] of comradeship [sic.] seems essential; and this probably can only be gained everywhere by having them all belong to a recognized official organization. They should belong to the regiments and share their reputations if they can not have a corps of their own. At present much of their usefulness is undermined." While there is a certain unclarity in the first two sentences, the rest of the statement is clear enough.

⁶⁶Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 74-76. The bill and a report on the bill (No 2761) were published, however. It was not a good bill and really did not conceive of a centralized corps of chaplains. The bill was later amended so as to read: "A Bill to Authorize the Secretary of War to employ acting chaplains and for other purposes." Its value is that it shows that Congress was thinking of "chaplains" as a "branch" or "corps" as early as the turn of the century.

⁶⁷*Public Statutes at Large*, XXXI. Act of Feb 2, 1901 (56th Congress, Session II. Chap. 192, Sec. 1 and 12). Cf. also General Orders 9, Headquarters of the Army, Adjutant General's office, Washington, D.C., February 6, 1901, Sec. 12; General Orders 26 Headquarters of the Army Adjutant General's office, Washington, D.C., March 8, 1901. There is a clear

On April 21, 1904 in "an Act to recognize and promote the efficiency of Army chaplains," Congress provided for a system whereby chaplains could advance in the military. Congress authorized the President to promote chaplains having at least ten years service "in the grade of captain," who have been commended "for exceptional efficiency" by commanders to the "grade, pay and allowances of major." There may be no more than fifteen majors at one time and the remaining 44 chaplains "shall have the grade, pay, and allowances of captain, mounted, after they have completed seven years of service." All newly appointed chaplains "shall have the grade, pay and allowances of first lieutenant, mounted, until they shall have completed seven years of service." And all chaplains shall be officially addressed as "chaplain."⁶⁸

Largely due to the pressure of WWI, though there had been attempts to induce Congress to improve the resources for chaplain's ministry in the Army in the years preceding the war,⁶⁹ Congress in an Act of May 25, 1918 amended the National Defense Act of June 3, 1916,⁷⁰ and the amendment to it, an Act of May 12, 1917, so as to provide one chaplain for each 1,200 officers and men in the Army, provided "that there shall be assigned at least one chaplain for each regiment of Cavalry, Infantry, Field Artillery, and Engineers." This was an important step in the development of the branch, since it tied the number of chaplains' slots to the number of troops in the Army. It was important philosophically as well as numerically since it signalled Congress' intention that chaplains are in the Army for the welfare of the troops. The Act also provided that each person appointed as chaplain shall be a member in "good standing" of some religious denomination or organization.⁷¹

Regarding the issue of the military uniform and officer's ensemble, chaplains originally in the Revolutionary War wore the regular clerical garb of the day,⁷² but were first reported as wearing the distinctive uniform of their unit as early as August 25, 1711.⁷³ Through the years there were changes in the uniform. But with the Act of Congress of February 2, 1901, one would have thought that chaplains would have started wearing the insignia of the rank of captain—since Congress has authorized it. But it is apparently not until the Act of April 21, 1904 that some chaplains began to raise

emphasis on "rank." See the Act of April 25, 1914, *Public Statutes at Large*, XXXVIII, pt. 1 (63rd Congress, Session II, Chap. 71, Sec. 6): "President may appoint . . . volunteer chaplains . . . with rank corresponding to that established by law for chaplains in the Regular Army."

⁶⁸*Public Statutes at Large*, XXXIII, pt. 1. Act of April 21, 1904 (58th Congress, Session II, Chap. 1404). See also Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 151.

⁶⁹Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 156–59.

⁷⁰*Public Statutes at Large*, XXXIX, pt. 1. Act of June 3, 1916 (64th Congress, Session I, Chap. 134, Sec. 15).

⁷¹*Public Statutes at Large*, XL, pt. 1. Act of 25 May 1918 (65th Congress, Session II, Chap. 85). It is interesting that the issue of "ordination" was not addressed by this Congress.

⁷²Thompson, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, I. 94. See the review of this issue in Thompson, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, I. 180–81; Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 203–6; Gushwa, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, IV. 28–31.

⁷³Thompson, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, I. 36. Probably following the practices of the British Army.

the issue of rank.⁷⁴ In February 1908, a Chaplains Board, that had been organized by the Secretary of War for the purposes of collecting suggestions from chaplains and commanders, consolidating the information, and then making recommendations to the War Department, recommended to the Secretary of War that the chaplain's uniform be changed "to conform more nearly" to that of other staff officers.⁷⁵ The recommendation was not followed, but by 1917 chaplains were authorized to wear the full uniform along with insignia as any other staff officer.⁷⁶

Unfortunately because of pressure from Chaplain Charles H. Brent, General Pershing's "Chief Chaplain" of the Army Expeditionary Force (A.E.F.), General Pershing recommended to the War Department that insignia of rank should not be worn by chaplains.⁷⁷ The War Department concurred, and in Change 4 to Special Regulation 41 dated May 22, 1918 changed the insignia on the collar of the shirt and on the shoulder loop to replace the insignia of rank with the Latin Cross; to drop the reference to chaplains in the wearing of the U.S. and cross on the lapels of the coat. In short, the change removed all indication of rank and reduced the chaplain to the "rank of chaplain," a nebulous condition that had been specifically changed by Congress in the Act of March 2, 1867. It would appear that Change 4 to Special Regulation 41 is in violation of the law!

The situation was not corrected until 1926. A board convened by the Chief of Staff recommended on March 19, 1926 that "the insignia of rank be returned to the uniform of the chaplain."⁷⁸ And it was so directed by the War Department on March 19, 1926.⁷⁹

⁷⁴Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 204.

⁷⁵Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 155.

⁷⁶*Regulations for the Uniform of the United States Army* (Special Regulations 41; Washington: Government Printing House, 1917), See the index for insignia and para. 37 (g,h,i), 39 (e,f,g), 40 (d,e,f). It was reaffirmed in regulation 41 published August 15, 1917. Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 204, n.59 reports that it happened as early as April 9, 1914, and cites Circular No. 5, War Department, Office of the Chief of the Quartermasters Corps, Washington, D.C., April 9, 1914, paragraph 52½. But this regulation was not available to me.

⁷⁷Not all chaplains agreed with Brent, however. Chaplain John T. Axton, later to become the first Chief of Chaplains, in 1919 wrote to the Adjutant General of the Army that "opportunity to advance in grade and wear the appropriate insignia provided incentives for Army personnel, even chaplains, to perform meritorious service" (Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 206).

⁷⁸Gushwa, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, IV. 30-31.

⁷⁹War Department Circulars 19 (March 19, 1926) and 33 (June 2, 1926). Gushwa (*The United States Army Chaplaincy*, IV. 31) following Daniel B. Jorgensen (*The Service of Chaplains to the Army Air Units 1917-1946* [Washington: Office of the Chief of Air Force Chaplains, n.d.] 57) reports that "a Congressional Act of 1926" put the insignia of grade back on the uniform and "also guaranteed . . . that chaplains were given the rank, pay, and allowances of their respective grades up to and including that of colonel. They were to wear their distinctive insignia—Latin Crosses for Catholic and Protestant, and tablets with the Star of David for Jewish—on their lapels." But I find no record of any such Congressional act in 1926. See also Stover (*The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 203-4) who reports that the Shepherds Crook was the first insignia authorized for use by chaplains from February 1880 to May 5, 1888. Ten years later May 31, 1898, chaplains were authorized to wear the Latin Cross. Twenty years later on October 15, 1918, Jewish chaplains were authorized to wear the Tablets.

The ranking scheme for chaplains allowed for promotions only up to captain until the Act of April 21, 1904 provided for promotions to major.⁸⁰ A system that peaks at the rank of major, however, after a career of service spanning over twenty years, when other branches provide for promotion to colonel, simply does not create a solid basis for a professional branch. In the Act of June 4, 1920, provision was made for promotion to Lieutenant Colonel.⁸¹ But this was still not satisfactory as the Capper-Hull Bill of 1924 clearly recognized. This bill was approved for printing and a subcommittee hearing on the bill was held on April 16, 1924.⁸² In a report of 1922 to the Secretary of War cited before the subcommittee, Chaplain (COL) John T. Axton said in describing the exceptional qualities of men that are demanded by the nature of the chaplaincy:

Men of this type . . . come to the highest position of leadership and responsibility in the church as they remain in civilian life. If we are to get these outstanding men of the church there must be no discrimination against them. Young men of promise must be shown that in the service of the chaplaincy they have opportunity for the investment of their lives equal to that in other lines of the ministry and that they have a fair chance, equal to that of other men, and are not to be handicapped by discriminations against them.⁸³

Unfortunately the bill died in committee and it is not until July 31, 1935, that Congress authorized promotions for chaplains up to and including colonel.⁸⁴ Opportunity for advancement on a par with the rest of the military provides a solid basis for a professional branch. Provision for the promotion of the Chief of Chaplains to brigadier general (Act of November 21, 1941)⁸⁵ and then to major general (Act of June 28, 1944)⁸⁶ put the chaplains branch on a level with other professional branches.⁸⁷

During the 1920s and 1930s the Army Chaplaincy would be constantly under fire, and from the very constituency that had previously been so influential in the improvement of its situation in the military—the churches.⁸⁸ Perhaps that opposed the chaplaincy did so on constitutional grounds, favoring “a civilian chaplaincy managed and supervised directly by the churches.” But the issue never came to a vote in the Congress.⁸⁹ And

⁸⁰See Note 68 above.

⁸¹*Public Statutes at Large*, XLL, pt. 1 (66th Congress, Session II, Chap. 227, Sec. 15).

⁸²*Hearings House and Senate, Miscellaneous Matters Before Military Affairs Committee of House and Senate, 68th Congress, First Session*, “Joint Hearing on S.2532 and H.R.7038, April 16, 1924” (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924), 1981–2022.

⁸³“Joint Committee on S. 2531 and H.R. 7038,” 2015.

⁸⁴*Public Statutes at Large*, XLIX, pt. 1. Act of July 31, 1935 (74th Congress, Session I. Chap. 422, Sec. 4). See also Title 10 for 1940, Sections 236 and 552b.

⁸⁵*Public Statutes at Large*, LV, pt. 1 (77th Congress, Session I, Chap. 493).

⁸⁶*Public Statutes at Large*, LVIII, pt. 1 (78th Congress, Session 2, Chap. 291). This statute also authorized the President to appoint “chaplains as temporary general officers not above the grade of major general in such numbers as may be recommended by the Secretary of War.”

⁸⁷In the Officer Personnel Act August 7, 1947 (80th Congress, Session II, Sec. 519(a)) the rank of the Chief of Chaplains as Major General was made permanent.

⁸⁸Gushwa, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, IV. 28.

⁸⁹Gushwa, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, IV. 28.

by the time that the Army was given responsibility for the "Civilian Conservation Corps" in 1933, army chaplains, both active and reserve, provided religious coverage to the Corps. By the mid-twenties, Gushwa reports there were 300 such chaplains on duty with the CCC.⁹⁰

The organization of the Army Chaplains Board in 1945 provides a "think tank" resource to the Chief of Chaplains for making recommendations for improvements in the services provided by the branch: "such things as testing new items of supply and equipment, determining operating techniques, and providing liaison with other branches."⁹¹ And finally in 1949 the Secretary of Defense established the Armed Forces Chaplains Board, composed of the three Chiefs of Chaplains of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. This Board has a dual focus: to unify policies on manpower and supply and to coordinate relationships with civilians. The latter of these two foci recognize the unique nature of the chaplain. Military chaplains have a dual civilian/military responsibility: to the "churches" that "ordain" them and the government that commissions them. In this sense all chaplains are civilians and the churches do have a powerful voice in regulating the quality of ministry in the military. On the other hand, the chaplain is a soldier's soldier who must be as thoroughly familiar with the inner machinations of the Army system as any seasoned commander. The chaplain's professionalism is to be judged by the extent to which he or she meets these two very demanding commitments.

II. The Assignment and Supervision of Chaplains

A. Toward a College of Chaplains: From Remote Isolation to Coordination and Supervision by the Chief of Chaplains

The first problem that the Army had with chaplain assignments goes back to the Continental Congress and derives from the poor pay awarded chaplains and the low number of chaplains in the Continental Army, about half of what there should have been.⁹² General Washington devised a plan both to improve the salary of chaplains and, incidentally, to provide better coverage for his force. He petitioned Congress on December 31, 1775 both to advance the chaplain's pay from 20 dollars and to provide that chaplains could be assigned to two regiments at the same time.⁹³ On January 16, 1776 the Congress approved his request and directed that only one chaplain be assigned to two regiments and that the pay be raised to 33¹/₃ dollars per month.⁹⁴

The system could work only as long as the Army occupied "one encampment." But when the force was divided into different geographical

⁹⁰Gushwa, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, IV. 60.

⁹¹Rodger R. Venzke, *The United States Army Chaplaincy 1945-1975. Confidence in Battle, Inspiration in Peace* (5 Volumes; Washington: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, 1977) V. 51.

⁹²See Thompson, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, I. 107.

⁹³Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of George Washington*, IV. 197-98.

⁹⁴Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, IV. 61.

areas it “introduced much confusion and disorder.” Presumably what he meant in his letter of June 28, 1776 was that chaplains found their military parishes in two, or possibly even three, locations. Washington’s recommended solution to Congress was to assign “one to each regiment, with a salary competent to their support; no shifting, no change from one Regiment to another, can answer the purpose, and in many cases it could not be done, tho’ the Regiments should consent. . . . Many more Inconviences might be pointed out, but these, it is presumed, will sufficiently show the defect of the present establishment and the propriety of an alteration.”⁹⁵

One difficulty he faced was, of course, too few chaplains, but it is conceivable that an area coverage plan administered out of his headquarters by a senior chaplain might have partially been the solution he despaired of finding, at the time he finally turned the problem over to Congress: “What that Alteration shall be Congress will please to determine.”⁹⁶ Congress in an Act of July 5, 1776 replied by authorizing that one chaplain be appointed to each regiment and that their pay be increased to “thirty three dollars and one third of a dollar per month.”⁹⁷

The general lack of “technical channels” for chaplains that led eventually to a central authority to address their problems of supply, area coverage, and the fostering of professionalism among Army chaplains remained the “achilles heel” in the development of the Chaplaincy as a professional branch until the establishment of the Office of the Chief of Chaplains in 1920. The difficulty that the Army had with chaplains from about 1791–1865⁹⁸ may be directly attributable to the lack of a centralized structure to accession, administer, and supervise the work of chaplains. Certainly the problems introduced into the system by the lack of an authority to address these issues directly at senior command levels would have largely disappeared.

Of course the problems were recognized. Lorenzo Dow Johnson, a defender of the Chaplaincy in the controversy of the 1850s,⁹⁹ proposed in one of his pamphlets that a board comprised of eight to twelve clergymen from as many denominations be formed. In order for anyone to secure a commission from the government they would first have to obtain the approval of the board. Chaplains would then be required to report annually to the board.¹⁰⁰

This proposal, however, only addresses one of the problems caused by the lack of a central authority for chaplains—accessioning. The Army itself sensed a need for some centralized authority within its own structure. General Order No. 78, dated July 14, 1862, called for the Army’s new hospital chaplains, brought into the Army due to President Lincoln’s recogni-

⁹⁵Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of George Washington*, V. 192–93.

⁹⁶Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of George Washington*, V. 193.

⁹⁷Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, V. 522; see also Washington’s General Order of July 9, 1776: Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of George Washington*, V. 244–45.

⁹⁸See Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 167–70.

⁹⁹See Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 76–80.

¹⁰⁰As described in Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 78.

tion that there were no Army chaplains assigned to hospitals for volunteers,¹⁰¹ to be "assigned by the Surgeon-General to hospitals in the cities for which they were appointed." Should one of the hospital chaplains not have a position because of the "breaking up of a hospital," he is to be referred to the Adjutant General. While in the hospital, chaplains were "subordinate to the hospital surgeons" (just as regimental chaplains were to regimental commanders).¹⁰² The Surgeon-General even published a chaplains' manual for the guidance of chaplains under his supervision.¹⁰³

After the Civil War, the Army reverted to the contract system that had prevailed before the war. The 30 chaplains that were left after the demobilization of the Army were employed by posts. They received their assignments from, and reported to, the Adjutant General of the Army.¹⁰⁴ In some ways the Act of Congress of April 9, 1864 underlines the chaplain's isolation. It requires that chaplains "make monthly reports to the adjutant general of the Army, through the usual military channels . . . and it shall be the duty of all commanders . . . to render such facilities as will aid in the discharge of the duties assigned to them. . . ."¹⁰⁵ There is simply no provision for the kind of network for the sharing of information and skills that is both basic to, and contributes to, professionalism.

Chaplains themselves recognized the need for a central administration. The most prominent name in the late 1880s and early 1890s calling for reform in the Chaplaincy was Chaplain Orville J. Nave.¹⁰⁶ Some of his concerns were increased numbers of chaplains; adequate screening for applicants; provisions for promotion or advancement of chaplains; "annual assemblies" so chaplains could compare methods, exchange views, instruct novices, inspire the discouraged, and devise improved methods of work; improved supply system for chaplains; and the creation of a Corps of Chaplains. Writing in a collection of essays on the Chaplaincy, he reiterated his conviction that the efficiency of chaplains could only be increased by giving them administrative and policy-making roles in the Chaplaincy.¹⁰⁷

One of the concerns to surface in the late 1800s was "denominational coverage," and there were proposals periodically to make chaplains' assignments based on the denominational preference of the majority of personnel at each chaplains' post. General Sherman made such a proposal in 1876.¹⁰⁸ And Congressman Anson G. McCook, apparently a former general, recognizing that ministry to Roman Catholic personnel and their families

¹⁰¹See above.

¹⁰²*War of Rebellion*, Series III, vol. II. 221-22.

¹⁰³Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 116.

¹⁰⁴Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III, v and 32.

¹⁰⁵*Public Statutes at Large*, XIII (38th Congress, Session I, Chap. 53. Sec. 3).

¹⁰⁶Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 70-79.

¹⁰⁷Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 79. O. J. Nave, "The Status of Army Chaplains" in Theophilus G. Steward, ed., *Active Service: or, Religious Work Among U.S. Soldiers* (New York: U.S. Army Aid Association, 1897?), 42 (as quoted in Stover). Not all chaplains of the period shared Nave's view, however, for example, Cephas C. Bateman (Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 78).

¹⁰⁸*The Army and Navy Journal*, April 27, 1878, p. 608; Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 81.

was being neglected, introduced H.R. 4399 to remedy the situation. His bill addressed the issue of chaplain efficiency, but it included provisions for an annual "sectarian census of the Army and the assignment of chaplains in accordance therewith."¹⁰⁹ McCook later revised the bill so as to provide that "vacancies in the number of chaplains in active service . . . shall be filled . . . in such manner that there shall be at least one Roman Catholic chaplain . . . stationed at each military department headquarters."¹¹⁰ Neither Sherman's proposal nor McCook's bill were adopted;¹¹¹ their value is that they highlighted only one of the problems sensed by the military system in the absence of a deliberate structure for accommodation of chaplain assignments and their supervision after being assigned.

In 1908 the Secretary of War appointed a board of six chaplains "to collect and tabulate suggestions from chaplains and commanders." The goal was that the board would then use the data thus collected to make recommendations for improving the effectiveness of the chaplaincy. One of the suggestions they made, as a result of their first meeting in April 1909, one that was subsequently adopted by the Secretary of War, had to do with "training those who were appointed and commissioned."¹¹² In late 1909 it became War Department policy to assign each new chaplain as "assistant to an experienced and successful chaplain of his denomination when practicable" for a period of one to six months.¹¹³

In July 1912 Chaplain O.J. Nave called for a convention of "chaplains of the Army, Navy, National Guard, and of the Civil and Spanish-American Wars," to be held in September 1912. The convention drafted a memorial addressed to the "Churches and General Christian Public." Among other things they addressed was the need for a Corps of Chaplains with "suitable officers" at its head. A copy of the memorial was sent to President-elect Wilson, requesting that the President appoint Secretaries of War and the Navy who would be concerned for the moral and religious welfare of the military.¹¹⁴

In April 1917 the United States entered WWI and the events of that conflict in Europe were to lead directly to the Office of the Chief of Chaplains. General Pershing wanted an Army Expeditionary Force (A.E.F.) "Corps of Chaplains." He picked Bishop Charles H. Brent, a Y.M.C.A. representative who was then in Europe, and asked him to be his "Senior General Headquarters Chaplain" in the A.E.F. But Brent preferred a committee, or board, of chaplains to oversee the work of chaplains in the A.E.F. Brent then served as chairman of the committee but was generally acknowledged as the "Chief of Chaplains of the A.E.F."¹¹⁵ Brent "assumed responsibility for assigning all chaplains in the A.E.F."; arranged for senior

¹⁰⁹*The Army and Navy Journal*, April 27, 1878, p. 608; February 21, 1880, p. 579. Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 81.

¹¹⁰As quoted in Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 81.

¹¹¹Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 82.

¹¹²Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 155.

¹¹³Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 152.

¹¹⁴Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 157.

¹¹⁵Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 220.

chaplains to be assigned at high command levels so as to supervise the chaplains within their commands; and established an A.E.F. Chaplains School in Europe to orient and train chaplains for duty with their units.¹¹⁶ Before he began his work, however, he explored the administrative system for supervising chaplains used in the British Army with Bishop Gwynne, Deputy Chaplain General for British forces, who had visited Pershing's Headquarters.¹¹⁷ The Centralized System that Brent had set up in the A.E.F. was only unique to the A.E.F., however. Except for some commanders in the continental U.S. who had appointed senior chaplains in their commands to supervise and coordinate the ministry of the other chaplains on their installations,¹¹⁸ the rest of the chaplains in the Army remained disorganized.¹¹⁹

On June 3, 1918 the Judge Advocate General, was directed by the Secretary of War, Newton Diehl Baker, who had met Bishop Brent when he visited the A.E.F.¹²⁰ to draft a bill to create a "Corps of Chaplains" made up of chaplains in grades of first lieutenant through colonel, with grades in the same ratio as the medical corps.¹²¹ Apparently that proposed bill was lost in the midst of the Hearings on the Reorganization of the Army in 1919.¹²²

During the 65th Congress (1917) there was considerable discussion of, and bills proposed on, the appointment of "Chaplains at Large," i.e., chaplains that were not at that time represented in the Army. There were then only Catholic and Protestant chaplains in the Army. The discussion focused on Jewish chaplains, but it was clearly not the intent of Congress to limit it just to Jewish chaplains. Senate Bill 4409 eventually became law. It authorized the President to appoint a number not exceeding twenty as

¹¹⁶Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 220–21; see also Gushwa, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, IV. 5–8.

¹¹⁷Roy J. Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army* (Washington: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, 1959) 199. Bishop Brent is an interesting figure. He served for several months in his capacity as Pershing's chaplain as a civilian and had to be convinced by Pershing to accept a commission (Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 220). He opposed the wearing of insignia of rank for chaplains (Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 205–6). Later he did come to the opinion that it would be good to systematize all religious efforts in the Army provided it did not "militarize" religion (Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 222).

¹¹⁸Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 221.

¹¹⁹Gushwa, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, IV. 6.

¹²⁰Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 222. Baker was Secretary of War 9 March 1916–4 March 1921.

¹²¹Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 222–23. Chaplain Cephas C. Bateman, the senior chaplain in the Army, opposed such a Corps of Chaplains and recommended that Army chaplains be placed under the Chief of the Morale Division of the War Department, rather than having a chaplain-general. And when it began to appear that Congress might legislate authorization for a Chief of Chaplains he proposed that a board of three chaplains—Catholic, Jewish, Protestant—should be authorized under the supervision of the Chief of the Morale Division.

¹²²There is considerable discussion about the Chaplaincy in those hearings, see *Hearings Before the Committee on Military Affairs House of Representatives Sixty-Fifth Congress Third Session on H.R. 14560 to Reorganize and Increase the Efficiency of the Regular Army* (Washington Government Printing Office, 1919) 188, 1440, 1939–59, 1795–96.

“Chaplains at Large . . . representing religious sects not recognized in the appointment of chaplains now recognized by law.”¹²³

On June 4, 1920 Congress passed into law the National Defense Act that established the Office of the Chief of Chaplains:

One chaplain, of rank not below that of major may be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to be Chief of Chaplains. He shall serve as such for four years and shall have the rank, pay and allowances of colonel while so serving. His duties shall include investigation into the qualifications of candidates for appointment as chaplain, and general coordination and supervision of the work of chaplains.¹²⁴

The operative phrases that express the intent of Congress in creating the Office of the Chief of Chaplains are two: (a) “investigation of candidates for appointment as chaplain,” and “general coordination and supervision of the work of chaplains.” The second of these directly relates to assignment of chaplains in the military.¹²⁵ In 1950 Congress repealed Section 15, replacing it with the following:¹²⁶

Section 309: There shall be chaplains in the Army. The chaplains shall include the Chief of Chaplains authorized by Section 206 of this Act, Regular Army Officers appointed and commissioned as chaplains, and other officers of the Army appointed and commissioned as chaplains in the Army, or in any component thereof, as now or hereafter provided by law.

Section 206: (a) There shall be in the Army the following officers: Chief of Engineers, Chief Signal Officer . . . , and Chief of Chaplains. . . .

(c) Each of the officers named in this section shall perform such duties as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Army or required by law.¹²⁷

There is no change in this conceptualization of the function of the Office of the Chief of Chaplains in USC Title 10 of 1958, 1964, 1970,¹²⁸ 1976, and

¹²³*Congressional Record*, LV (65th Congress, Session I, 6747, 6961–3); House Report (6th Congress, Session I) 1. Report No. 170; *Public Statutes at Large*, XL. Act of October 6, 1917 (65th Congress, Session I, Chap. 94).

¹²⁴*Public Statutes at Large*, XLI, pt. 1 (66th Congress, Session II, Chap. 227, Sec. 15). This Act amends that of June 3, 1916.

¹²⁵To coordinate: “To bring into a common action, movement, or condition: regulate and combine in harmonious action”; “to attach so as to form a coordination complex”; “to constitute by such attachment.” *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged* (Springfield, MA: Merriam 1961) s.v. “coordinate.” Note that in Executive Order No 11390, Sec. 5 the President has delegated to the Secretary of Defense his authority “to appoint the chaplains at the United States Military and Air Force Academies”: *United States Code Annotated 1–4* (1989) 3. Sec. 301. This does raise the questions of both procedure and authority for this particular appointment. Is it a routine assignment or a special appointment? (See 10 Sec. 3064(b)).

¹²⁶*Public Statutes at Large*, LXIV, pt. 1. Act of June 28, 1950 (81st Congress, Session II, Chap. 383, Sec. 309 and 206. For the repeal see Sec. 401(a)).

¹²⁷See the remark by Gushwa (*The United States Army Chaplaincy*, IV. 12) to the effect that “the Officer Personnel Act of 1947 and the Army Organization Act of 1950 leave no doubt that the chaplains no longer constituted a Corps, if they ever did.” See *Public Statutes at Large*, LXI, pt. 1. Act of August 7, 1947 (80th Congress, Session I, Chap. 512, Sec. 502). In Title 10 and Title 32, USC August 10, 1956 Section 3064, chaplains are designated a “special branch” of the Army. *Public Statutes at Large*, 70A (84th Congress). But in that Act the Chaplain’s Branch is finally placed on an equal footing with other special branches of the Army.

¹²⁸In 1970 the number of Chiefs of Branches was reduced from eleven to the following: Chief of Engineers, Surgeon General, Judge Advocate General, Chief of Chaplains. . These are the special branches.

1982. On October 1, 1986, the Chief of Chaplains was made a part of the Army Staff.¹²⁹

B. Securing the Services of Chaplains

From the Revolutionary War to July 5, 1838 chaplains were secured by individual commanders and appointed, commissioned, or hired. On July 5, 1838 Congress authorized Councils of Administration at Army posts to employ civilian chaplains who would serve the post as both chaplain and school master. Final approval for the contract, however, rested with the Secretary of War.¹³⁰ That the subsequent period (roughly 1838–1861) was marked by the service of many unqualified and unworthy men was due to the patronage system adopted by Congress.¹³¹ The Secretary of War tried to compensate for the lack of an adequate appointment system by requiring that all applications for appointment should be accompanied by “the recommendations of the highest ecclesiastical authority of the communion to which the applicant belongs,”¹³² but the chaplaincy was still abused.

The system was not changed until the beginning of the Civil War when President Lincoln by General Order established procedures for selecting chaplains and qualifications for chaplains that were validated by later Congressional Acts. Both the General Orders and the Acts of Congress require that the chaplain be a regularly ordained minister of a Christian denomination, though the methods of securing the chaplain differ in the two statutes.¹³³ Many of the volunteer units also came with their chaplain already appointed by the state governor.¹³⁴

There were numerous complaints about the quality of the chaplains in the Army. Almost from the beginning of the mobilization there were such complaints. The Army committee of the Y.M.C.A. petitioned the Secretary of War to require that applicants for the Chaplaincy furnish evidence that they were in good standing with some Christian denomination;¹³⁵ and to take

¹²⁹*U.S. Code Congressional and Administrative News*, Vol. I (1986; 99th Congress, Session II) U.S. Code Section 502(a); Public Law Section 3031, Public Law 99–433 [H.R.] 3622 (100 Stat. 1039).

¹³⁰See above.

¹³¹Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 43–61.

¹³²War Department General Orders 66 (March 30, 1848) and 16 (March 19, 1849). See also Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 49–50.

¹³³See above pages 12–13. It is interesting that both General Orders read the same for the appointment of chaplains. But the two Acts do not. The Act of July 22, 1861 covering volunteers reads as the General Orders: The chaplains “shall be appointed by the regimental commander on the vote of the field officers and company commanders on duty with the regiment at the time the appointment shall be made. The chaplain so appointed must be a regular ordained minister of a Christian denomination, and shall receive the pay and allowances of a captain of cavalry and shall be required to report to the colonel commanding the regiment to which he is attached, at the end of each quarter, the moral and religious condition of the regiment and such suggestions as may conduce to the social happiness and the moral improvement of the troops.” While the Act of August 3, 1861 covering the Regular Army states: “That one chaplain shall be allowed to each regiment of the Army, to be selected and appointed as the President may direct: *Provided*, that none but regularly ordained ministers of some Christian denomination shall be eligible to selection or appointment.”

¹³⁴Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*. II. 84–85.

¹³⁵Which had already been required by General Order and legislation.

action to remove the unsuitable chaplains in the Army.¹³⁶ And the Adjutant General did order the removal of chaplains who failed to meet the requirements.¹³⁷

In early December 1861 clergymen representing three denominations called on President Lincoln and reported that the Chaplaincy was being discredited because of unqualified and incompetent chaplains. They requested that he change the system of appointment for regimental chaplains “to keep out those deficient in education, ministerial standing, personal and religious qualities and devotion to their tasks.”¹³⁸ But Lincoln pleaded that nothing could be done “since chaplains were chosen by the regiments they served,”¹³⁹ a system which incidentally he had directed by General Order probably because it had been the customary practice since the Revolutionary War.¹⁴⁰

About the same time the Paymaster General of the Army reported to Senator Henry Wilson, Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, that many chaplains were totally unworthy of their positions.

Chaplains: I regret to say that very many holding this position are utterly unworthy, and while I would not deprive our regiments of the services of a minister of the gospel, I think none should be appointed who did not come recommended by the highest ecclesiastical authority with which he is connected. It is said one regiment employs a French cook, and musters him as chaplain to meet the expense. I cannot vouch for the truth of this rumor, but I do know that some are utterly unworthy.¹⁴¹

The rumor may or may not have been true, but the fact that it “is rumored” reflects probable regimental abuse of the Chaplaincy, and the Paymaster “knows” that “some chaplains” are “utterly unworthy” (which is probably closer to the truth than “very many”). But in any case it reflects that the Chaplaincy was not highly regarded if the Paymaster-General of the Army could formally report such information to a U.S. Senator.

In 1862 the Secretary of War replies to a resolution of the House on the number and state of regimental chaplains currently in the Army, and “what measures are, in the opinion of [the War] Department, necessary to purify and invigorate¹⁴² this branch of the public service.” The Secretary submitted a report from the Adjutant General who traced the problem to the method of appointment: “The radical vice of the system is the *mode* of

¹³⁶Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 87.

¹³⁷Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 87. See below note page 68.

¹³⁸Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 87–88. Sandburg writes that the committee told the President that “many of the chaplains were notoriously bad” but cites no primary source for the report. As Sandburg reports it, it has the character of popular legend. The setting provides the context for a story by Lincoln.

¹³⁹Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 88.

¹⁴⁰See above. The practice of Post Councils of Administration hiring chaplains at the local level is simply a variation of the custom of local commanders selecting a chaplain. Incidentally President Lincoln’s response to the clergymen was true for the appointment of chaplains to volunteer units (cf. Act of July 22, 1861), but it was simply not true for Regular Army Units, as the Act of August 3, 1861 shows. Lincoln, himself, controlled how chaplains would be secured for Regular Army Units, by law.

¹⁴¹*War of Rebellion*, III, vol. I. 728.

¹⁴²The Secretary’s report indicated that of the 395 chaplains that could be accounted for in the Army thirteen were absent without leave.

appointment, and until that be changed all legislation on the subject will be thrown away." The Adjutant General had but two additional recommendations to make on the subject. "1st. That no person shall be eligible to an appointment of chaplain who, in addition to being a regularly ordained minister of some religious denomination, cannot produce credentials of his good standing, piety, intelligence, and devotion to duty from the presiding authorities of his church. 2nd. That no person elected or appointed chaplain shall be permitted to draw pay, except upon a certificate of the Adjutant General that duly authenticated copy of such credentials has been filed in his office by the appointing power."¹⁴³

The Adjutant General attached a copy of a previous report that he had made previously to the Secretary of War calling for a change in the mode of appointment. He noted that none of the three systems that were currently in use had proven satisfactory. "To place the appointment in the hands of the Executive, who can know nothing of the hundreds of candidates who will besiege him with applications, will necessarily open the door to *political* influence, and is, therefore, of the three considered the most objectionable." He goes on to note that leaving the appointment with the officers, "if they would conscientiously use the power . . . for the benefit of the men" is least open to objection. But notes "unfortunately the appointing power is not so used by the officers, or, at least, is very rarely so used." The Adjutant General in his earlier report proposes three variations on the current practice of the units selecting their chaplains. He closes the report with the following: "With respect to *prescribing* the chaplain's duties by law, the Adjutant General is of the opinion that the less done the better."

On July 17, 1862¹⁴⁴ Congress after prolonged debate¹⁴⁵ approved the following with regard to qualifications of chaplains in both the volunteers and Army:

That no person shall be appointed a chaplain in the United States Army who is not a regularly ordained minister of some religious denomination, and who does not present testimonials of his present good standing as such minister, with a recommendation for his appointment as an army chaplain from some authorized ecclesiastical body, or not less than five accredited ministers belonging to said religious denomination.

This legislation establishes the chaplain's dual status, being obliged to the state by virtue of his commission and to his "ecclesiastical body" by virtue of his ordination. Norton notes that in this legislation is the origin of ecclesiastical endorsing agencies.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³37th Congress, 2d Session, House of Representatives. Executive Document No. 136 (June 20, 1862).

¹⁴⁴*Public Statutes at Large*, XII (37th Congress, Session II, Chap. 200, Sec. 8). This Act amends Acts of July 22, 1861, Sec. 9 and August 3, 1861, Sec. 7.

¹⁴⁵Virtually all of the printed discussion concerned the issue of pay. See the *Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, Session II, p. 2800 for a brief reference to the chaplain's portion of the bill.

¹⁴⁶Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II, 110, note 35. I can agree with his judgment, but is it not true that the "endorsing agencies" were anticipated by the practice of the Continental Congress? For example, in 1777 the Congress passed a resolution that each brigadier general nominate to Congress a proper person for a chaplain to his brigade "and that

In response to this legislation the Adjutant General published General Orders no. 91 in which he simply republished the legislation with the following preface: "The following resolutions, acts, and extracts from Acts of Congress are published for the information of all concerned."¹⁴⁷ This general order must have been generally ignored, for the Adjutant General published General Orders 110 specifically stating that it must be followed.¹⁴⁸ The legislation of July 17, 1862 had given commanders 30 days "to inquire into the fitness, efficiency, and qualifications of the chaplains of hospitals, or regiments, and to muster out of service such chaplains as were not appointed in conformity with the requirement of this Act, and who have not faithfully discharged the duties of chaplains. . . ."

There were no further changes in either qualifications for chaplains, or methods of securing chaplains until after the beginning of the Spanish American War (April 25, 1898). In an Act of March 2, 1899 Congress increased the qualifications for chaplains. Section 7 of the legislation states:

That no person in civil life shall hereafter be appointed a judge-advocate, paymaster, or chaplain until he shall have passed satisfactorily such examination as to his moral, mental, and physical qualifications, as may be prescribed by the President; and no such person should be appointed who is more than forty-four years of age.¹⁴⁹

In the Act of February 2, 1901 the age for chaplains was reduced to 40,¹⁵⁰ and on March 2, 1901 another Act of Congress adjusted the age limits for chaplains as follows: "The age limit prescribed as to chaplains shall not apply to persons who served as chaplains of volunteers after [April twenty-first, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight] who were under forty-two years of age when originally appointed."¹⁵¹ In addition to the examination administered to all officer candidates and the age requirement, chaplains were made the subject of a "special investigation." It was a suggestion made by Chaplain Alfred A. Pruden to the Army Chief of Staff and the suggestion was adopted in 1910.¹⁵²

In 1915 in keeping with the Congressional Act of July 17, 1862, the Secretaries of the Army and the Navy asked the Federal Council of Churches to secure all Protestant candidates for chaplain vacancies in the Army. Four other church bodies had already established commissions for the purpose of selecting suitable clergymen for chaplain appointment: the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; the Methodist Episcopal Church, North; the Protes-

they recommend none but such as are clergymen of experience, and established public character for piety, virtue and learning": Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, VIII. 390-91.

¹⁴⁷War of Rebellion, III, vol. II. 270, 278.

¹⁴⁸War of Rebellion, III, vol. III. 175-76. Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 90.

¹⁴⁹*Public Statutes at Large*, XXX (55th Congress, Session III, Chap. 352). Chaplains are mentioned in Sec. 2, 4, 7. General Orders 36 dated 4 March 1899 simply reprints the legislation. See Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 147-48 on the nature of the exam administered to all candidates for a commission.

¹⁵⁰*Public Statutes at Large*, XXXI, pt. I (56th Congress, Session II, Chap. 192, Sec. 12).

¹⁵¹*Public Statutes at Large*, XXXI, pt. I (56th Congress, Session II, Chap. 803, Sec. VIII [p. 900]). See Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 148.

¹⁵²Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 149.

tant Episcopal Church; and the Catholic Church. It was understood that the Federal Council would work with the other commissions and with the leadership of other church bodies who did not have commissions to secure candidates for the Chaplaincy.¹⁵³ In April of 1917 Jewish groups organized the Jewish Welfare Board. In September 1917 at the call of the Federal Council of Churches, thirty-five Protestant groups met and organized the General War-Time Commission. Most of the work of these two organizations was "directed toward the moral and religious welfare of servicemen."¹⁵⁴ In November 1917, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Washington established the National Catholic War Council which "assigned to the Knights of Columbus the responsibility of caring for the recreational needs of soldiers and sailors."¹⁵⁵ These three organizations "recruited clergymen for the chaplaincies, reviewed their applications and recommended the best candidates to the War and Navy Departments for appointments and commissions."¹⁵⁶ They worked out an agreement whereby each denomination received a proportionate share of the appointments. At first, coordination with these bodies was handled by the Office of the Adjutant General but "selections were transferred to the Chief of Chaplains' office due to the complexity of the 'quota system' within denominations."¹⁵⁷ In any case, however, it was properly the work of the Office of the Chief of Chaplains since it was so mandated by law on June 4, 1920.

On June 15, 1917 the Army published a Special Regulation (No. 3) on the appointment of chaplains: "Appointment of Chaplains on the United States Army." It lists five requirements for appointments:

1. Must be a "regular ordained member of some religious denomination."
2. Must be in good standing with that denomination.
3. Must be recommended for appointment by "some authorized ecclesiastical body."
4. Must not have "passed the age of forty-five years."
5. Must have "passed satisfactorily such examinations as to his moral, mental and physical qualifications as may be prescribed by the President unless he has demonstrated such qualifications in service as chaplain during the war with Spain."

At the beginning of WWII the Chaplaincy was the only Army branch that had civilian agencies "interviewing, selecting, and endorsing men to the Army": The Jewish Welfare Board, The Military Ordinariate, and the General Commission on Army and Navy Chaplains.¹⁵⁸

The evolution of this system of shared governance has been—and probably will remain—a necessary one. The military chaplaincy in a sense, serves two mistresses: the "church" and the state. In some ways this description is misleading, however. All soldiers of religious faith stand at the same crossroads when—and if—religious commitment and oath of office

¹⁵³Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 159, 208; see Stover's discussion of the issue pp. 206–10 and Gushwa, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, IV. 15–16.

¹⁵⁴Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 207.

¹⁵⁵Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 207.

¹⁵⁶Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 207.

¹⁵⁷Gushwa, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 16.

¹⁵⁸Gushwa, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, IV. 97.

conflict. The chaplain is no different from any other soldier in this regard. Because of what the chaplain represents in the military, however, one might expect that his/her sensitivities to potential conflicts would be keener. But the basic questions remain the same for all soldiers having ethical standards, and religious faith. The chaplain is different, however, in that he belongs to two institutions at the same time: the church, synagogue, or other religious body, that has "ordained" him/her, as a minister, priest, or rabbi; and the Army into which s/he has been commissioned as chaplain by an oath of office. Both institutions require "oaths," and both serve and are served by him/her. And both require the chaplain's commitment. The chaplain could not be in the Army without the endorsement of his/her religious denomination, and s/he will not stay in the Army unless s/he becomes a first rate soldier. The Army wants its chaplains militarized; the religious organization that endorsed the chaplain does not want its ministers militarized. Chaplains know that it is more than merely a semantic problem, and learn to live in the midst of their dialectical ambiguity—at least the successful ones do.

That dialectic has always belonged to the basic character of the Army Chaplaincy and it was clearly recognized by the Provincial Congress in the Revolutionary War who accepted chaplains for the Army only when they had received the "leave of their congregations." The Provincial Congress accepted the service of chaplains as a "loan" from the churches. The major problem just before, and during, the Civil War is that the lesson of the founding fathers was forgotten.

To assign chaplains on the basis of anything other than pastoral concerns (in this case pastoral concerns must be interpreted as "what is good for the welfare of the soldier, and hence what is good for the Army and the country") is undue militarization of the Chaplaincy. The Sixty-Sixth Congress apparently knew that, as the Hearings on the Army Reorganization of 1920 attest, and hence included in the Chief of Chaplains' job description the phrase "general coordination and supervision" of chaplains. Churches are very sensitive to the fact that they are "loaning" their chaplains to the military for the purpose of ministry. While the chaplain is a soldier in virtually every sense of the word, chaplains are dually supervised. As long as the Army only accepts chaplains that are "endorsed" by "churches," they must accept dual supervision, that is, a shared governance. That is the reason for the phrase "general coordination and supervision." Churches want the assurance that their ministers will not be "compromised" by the military; and Congress gave it to them in the "establishment clause" for the Office of the Chief of Chaplains in 1920.

C. The U.S. Army Chaplain School: A College for the College of Chaplains

A "profession" is defined as "a calling requiring specialized knowledge and often long and intensive preparation including instruction in skills and methods as well as in the scientific, historical, or scholarly principles underlying such skills and methods, maintaining by force of organization or concerted opinion high standards of achievement and conduct, and committing its members to continued study and to a kind of work which has for its

prime purpose the rendering of a public service.”¹⁵⁹ In that sense it was not possible to have “professional Army chaplains” until there was developed a “school” to consolidate, refine, and disseminate the body of special knowledge that characterized the profession; and a structure that could hold members of the profession to the common standards of the organization. Early chaplains were professional clergymen who served as chaplains in the military. They were not “professional Army chaplains.”

The beginning of the Army Chaplains School lies in the early Army Chaplain’s manuals. These were early attempts to consolidate and disseminate information for the benefit of the collegial body. There were two such manuals that appeared as early as 1863: Chaplain William Y. Brown, *The Army Chaplain: His Office, Duties and Responsibilities* (Philadelphia: Martin, 1863),¹⁶⁰ and Chaplain J. Pinkney Hammond, *The Army Chaplain’s Manual* (Philadelphia: Lippencott, 1863).¹⁶¹ The second of these manuals was written at the direction of the Surgeon General and was intended for the chaplains assigned to hospitals under his supervision.

Something approximating a “school” for chaplains emerged in 1909 when the War Department directed that each new chaplain would be assigned to an experienced and successful chaplain of his own denomination “when practicable” for a period of one to six months.¹⁶² This would have amounted to little more than a sort of “on the job training” but historically it is the first concrete step that the government has taken to provide formally for the dissemination of skills and information that uniquely adhere to the Army Chaplaincy. In a sense it is the first official recognition that the chaplaincy is a professional field unlike civilian ministries.

In the fall of 1917 the General Commission on Army and Navy Chaplains presented a proposal to the War Department for a chaplains’ training school. The War Department liked the idea and referred it to Chaplain Alfred A. Pruden to develop the concept. Pruden, in contrast to a subsequent proposal, from a consortium of seminaries in the Boston/Cambridge area calling for a “seminary curriculum,” proposed a curriculum to introduce newly appointed chaplains to life in the military. The plan was approved in February 1918, and published as Special Regulation No. 496 on May 23, 1918.¹⁶³ Chaplain Pruden was the first commandant.

In order to supplement the training the students received in the six week training sessions,¹⁶⁴ Chaplain Brent also established an A.E.F. School on June 1, 1918 at Neuilly-sur-Suize near Chaumont in France. This school focused on “realistic instruction for use on the battlefield.” At first the length of Brent’s school consisted of one week of lectures but later was expanded to ten days. In November 1918, with the demobilization following

¹⁵⁹Webster’s *Third New International Dictionary*, s.v. “profession.”

¹⁶⁰Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 96, 121, 127–28.

¹⁶¹Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 116, 118. See Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 214 for the others.

¹⁶²See above page 29.

¹⁶³Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 215.

¹⁶⁴Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 215.

the end of WWI, Pruden's school accepted no more students and was finally closed down on January 31, 1919.¹⁶⁵

In November of 1919 a board of five chaplains met in Washington to consider training of chaplains and subsequently recommended the establishment of a permanent Chaplains School to conduct a five month basic training course for chaplains. The stated purposes for the school were:

to train chaplains to serve men of other denominations; prepare them as Army Officers so they could mingle with others on an impartial level; save them from embarrassing blunders by teaching them Army regulations and customs; prepare them to serve as defense counsel through familiarity with military law; let them learn from more experienced chaplains; rub elbows with those of different faiths; help "rid individuals of mannerisms and defects"; standardize activities on a high level; and give chaplains an appreciation of the military institution and its history.¹⁶⁶

The school was authorized by the Adjutant General on January 28, 1920 and opened on May 15, 1920 at Camp Grant, Illinois.¹⁶⁷ But so few chaplains were able to attend the school that it closed its residence program in 1928 and concentrated on training chaplains through correspondence courses until the beginning of WWII, when the school began to rush resident students through a one month basic course.¹⁶⁸ After the war, the course was extended to a more leisurely three months.¹⁶⁹

Since WWII, the U.S. Army Chaplains School has played a primary role in integrating chaplains into the military system and preparing them at various stages of their careers for increased levels of responsibility in the Army. Hence the School is an essential element in maintaining the professionalism of Army Chaplains.

III. Affirmation and Challenge

It seems clear that the Continental Congress sensed no discrepancy between the First Amendment to the Constitution which they approved in 1791 and the concept of Chaplaincy in the U.S. Army and the U.S. Senate. As Section I of this paper clearly shows, the Army chaplaincy (and incidentally the chaplaincy to the U.S. Senate) is intertwined with the events that led up to, and followed, the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution. Congress clearly did not feel it had "established religion" by providing the Army with chaplains:

Congress was neither opposed to religion, nor to a governmental chaplaincy, but only to the domination of one denomination to the exclusion or detriment of others. Our Founding Fathers made the military chaplaincy a vital part of the Army, and a chaplaincy for Congress an equally vital part of that body. . . . They were not advocates of freedom from religion, as their actions give evidence, but certainly demanded and practiced freedom of religion in their official assemblies.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 217.

¹⁶⁶Gushwa, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, IV. 17.

¹⁶⁷Gushwa, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, IV. 17.

¹⁶⁸Gushwa, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, IV. 18 and 19. Venzke, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, V. 53.

¹⁶⁹Venzke, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, V. 53. See Venzke's brief discussion on the subsequent history of the school, pp. 53-57.

¹⁷⁰Thompson, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, I. 132.

In the 1850s, only about 10 years after Congress had once again approved chaplains for the Army, the Army and Navy chaplaincy fell under fire. Numerous memorials were sent to the Senate and House of Representatives from citizens in various states asking that the chaplaincy be abolished, basically claiming that the chaplaincy was unconstitutional and that it also portended a union of church and state.¹⁷¹ In a series of five separate reports extending from 1850 to 1856, the Senate Judiciary Committee defended and upheld the constitutionality of the Army Chaplaincy, centering on issues and using arguments that are surprisingly modern.¹⁷² For example, House Report 171 appeals to the fact that the framers of the Constitution saw no discrepancy between the “establishment” clause of the First Amendment and chaplains maintained in the Army at public expense. The Report further appealed to the argument that were the country not to provide chaplains for its soldiers such action would, in effect, be denying them their “free exercise” of religion. Senate Report 376 argued that chaplains in the Army, Navy, and Congress do not constitute an “establishment of religion.” And House Report 124 rehearses some of the history of the evolution of the chaplaincy, pointing specifically to the practice of the Continental Congress. The Judiciary Committee was resolute in its support of the Chaplaincy. Support also came from the churches; Lorenzo Dow Johnson, an Episcopalian layman who lived in Washington, wrote two pamphlets in 1856 and 1857 for public dissemination in support of the Chaplaincy, which Norton describes as “the first attempt to give a short and fairly accurate account of the Chaplaincy.”¹⁷³

In 1868 after the Civil War (April 1865), it was noted that twenty-one of the thirty-six chaplain positions in the Army were held by Episcopalians. The Presbyterians and the Methodists sent memorials to Congress and the Secretary of War calling for a redress of this imbalance of denominational representation in the Chaplaincy. Stover notes that later the number of Episcopalian chaplains were reduced after the President began making chaplain appointments, rather than appointments being made by the Post Councils of Administration.¹⁷⁴

In the Hearings on the Reorganization of the Army in 1876, chaplains were incidentally mentioned in a negative way in the testimony before the Committee on Military affairs. For example, General I.N. Palmer said that next to laundresses “there are only two classes of persons so useless. . . . These two classes are the judges-advocate and the chaplains.”¹⁷⁵ And it was

¹⁷¹Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 76–79.

¹⁷²House of Representatives Report No. 171, March 13, 1850 (31st Congress, Session I); Senate Report No. 376, January 21, 1853, (32nd Congress, Session II); House of Representatives Report No. 124, March 27, 1854 (33d Congress, Session I); House of Representatives Report No. 2, February 28, 1856 (34th Congress, Session I); House of Representatives Report No. 63, April 17, 1856 (34th Congress, Session II). The last two reports simply report that the House and Senate had already expressed themselves on the issue.

¹⁷³See Norton (*The United States Army Chaplaincy*, II. 78) for the titles.

¹⁷⁴Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 3.

¹⁷⁵House of Representatives Report No. 354, March 9, 1876 (44th Congress, Session II), p. 51. Of course they were also mentioned in a positive way as well. See Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 67–68 for other references in this House Report.

in connection with these hearings that General W.T. Sherman recommended the abolishment of the chaplaincy and the hiring of civilian contract chaplains.¹⁷⁶

In 1888 under the leadership of Chaplain Orville J. Nave many church bodies (national, regional, and local) became interested in the chaplaincy and drafted resolutions to their congressmen in behalf of the chaplaincy. Chaplain Nave collected these materials, organized them, had them printed and then sent them to President-elect Harrison.¹⁷⁷

From 1920 to 1930 the chaplaincy again falls under fire from the civilian community. The constitutional arguments for the abolishment of the chaplaincy are revived again. But also a new argument is launched, one that opposed the chaplaincy on the grounds of pacificism. The movement, however, was never strong enough to impact the chaplaincy in any institutional way.¹⁷⁸

In the 1930s following WWI the chaplaincy again falls under fire, this time from the religious establishment of the country, the very communities that had earlier been its strongest supporters. Jorgensen summarizes the opposition to the chaplaincy during this period into five main points:

1. Churches should stop recommending ministers for the chaplaincy because the war system is against the Gospel.
2. The Commission on Chaplains should be abolished, for it represented a contradiction to the church's stand against war.
3. Chaplains should not wear the uniform or distinctive military insignia, have rank, or be paid by the government because the officer status of the chaplain hurt[s] his relation with officers and enlisted men.
4. The chaplaincy violated the principle of church and state.¹⁷⁹

In 1936 the General Commission on Army and Navy Chaplains did a study of the chaplaincy, but reached no definitive conclusions. They appointed another committee to continue the study. In 1938 the report of this second committee "recommended removal of rank and 'continuous study' of the chaplaincy. It also declared that a plan to replace military chaplains with civilians was impractical."¹⁸⁰

From 1950 to 1970 the chaplaincy was again challenged. Prior to the Korean War some churches called for the replacement of the traditional chaplaincy with a "supra-national ministry to all men, friend and foe alike."¹⁸¹ In 1955 a self-professed atheist attempted through court action to force the government to stop employing chaplains.¹⁸² In 1962 Rabbi Martin

¹⁷⁶*The Army and Navy Journal*, April 27, 1878, pp. 608-9. See Stover's discussion, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 63-70.

¹⁷⁷Stover, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, III. 73.

¹⁷⁸Gushwa, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, IV. 27-28.

¹⁷⁹Jorgensen, *The Services of Chaplains to Army Air Units*, 60. See Gushwa (*The United States Army Chaplaincy*, IV. 55) who adds a fifth: "Chaplains were given additional duties which kept them from their ministry and held them captive to efficiency reports so that they were not free to prophetically confront the system." He also summarizes the arguments of those who supported the chaplaincy.

¹⁸⁰Gushwa, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, IV. 56; Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units*, 59.

¹⁸¹Venzke, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, V. 126.

¹⁸²Venzke, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, V. 126.

Siegel, a former chaplain, called for civilianization of the chaplaincy.¹⁸³ And in 1963 in a letter to Robert F. McNamara, a New Jersey ACLU Chapter challenged the constitutionality of the chaplaincy.¹⁸⁴ In the late 1960s the barrage of letters and articles critical of the chaplaincy increased.¹⁸⁵ And as U.S. involvement in Vietnam was stepped up and the cost of the war and U.S. casualties reached their peak so does criticism of the military—and the chaplaincy.¹⁸⁶

On October 29, 1984 this series of challenges that began in the 1950s reached a peak when the constitutionality of the United States Army Chaplaincy was argued in the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit.¹⁸⁷ The decision of the court was announced January 22, 1985 affirming the order of the district court that had previously granted a summary judgment in favor of the Chaplaincy and dismissed the complaint. In its conclusion the appellate court stated in part:

We find that the more appropriate standard of relevancy to our national defense and reasonable necessity is met by the great majority of the Army's existing chaplaincy services. The purpose and effect of the program is to make religion, religious education, counseling and religious facilities available to military personnel and their families under circumstances where the practice of religion would otherwise be denied as a practical matter to all or a substantial number. As a result, the morale of our soldiers, their willingness to serve, and the efficiency of the Army as an instrument for our national defense rests in substantial part on the military chaplaincy, which is vital to our Army's functioning.¹⁸⁸

But the issue still does not seem to be resolved as a subsequent paper in the *Yale Law Review* attests.¹⁸⁹

One bright spot in the midst of all the criticism of the chaplaincy over the last forty years was the report of President Truman's Committee on Religion and Welfare in the Military. Venzke's quote from the study is an appropriate place to end this survey: "Because of the world's unprecedented awareness of the need for spiritual vitality, the importance of the work of the chaplaincy has reached an unparalleled peak."¹⁹⁰

Concluding Observations

From this all too hurried survey of selected issues in the history of the U.S. Army Chaplaincy, some things can be observed more clearly than others. Doubtless as one makes a more extensive study of these issues that have continued to recur in the history other things will become clearer. But these observations do seem valid, at least to me, even on the basis of this preliminary survey.

¹⁸³Venzke, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, V. 126.

¹⁸⁴Venzke, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, V. 126.

¹⁸⁵Venzke, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, V. 127.

¹⁸⁶Venzke, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, V. 128.

¹⁸⁷Joel Katcoff versus John O. Marsh, Jr., Secretary of the Army (755 F.2d 223 (1985)).

¹⁸⁸Katcoff v. Marsh, 237.

¹⁸⁹Julie B. Kaplan, "Military Mirrors on the Wall: Nonestablishment and the Military Chaplaincy," *Yale Law Review* 95 (1986) 1210–1236.

¹⁹⁰Venzke, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, V. 58.

1. I have made my primary observation from the history of the Chaplaincy the focus of this paper: the beginning of the chaplaincy as a *professional* branch in the United States Army begins with the National Defense Act of 1920 and the establishment of the Office of the Chief of Chaplains.

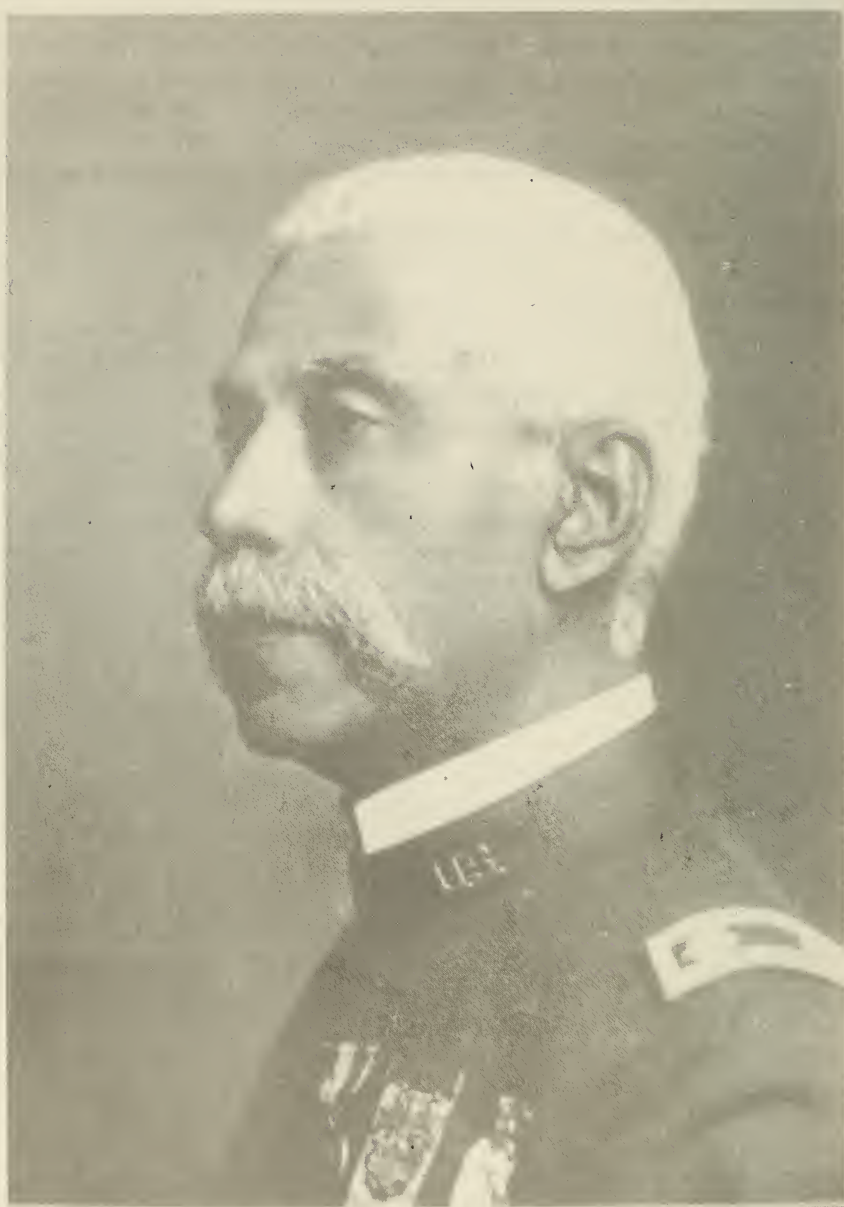
2. Chaplains were “managed” in command channels until 1920, and this management by benign neglect almost ruined the chaplaincy as, for example, the circumstances of the chaplaincy in the early 1800s shows. Until the Civil War, chaplains were managed by local commanders; after the Civil War until WWI—dark days for the chaplaincy—they were managed by the Adjutant General. Real management began with the Office of the Chief of Chaplains.

3. Civilianizing the chaplaincy did not work, neither in the time of peace (1818–1838), nor in the time of war (1847).

4. The Army shares the governance of chaplains with their endorsing agencies. But this situation is no different than that with other professionals whom the Army commissions by virtue of their profession, for example, lawyers and physicians. If they lose their “endorsement,” they lose their unique value to the Army. Hence in a sense the Army also shares the governance of these officers as well.

5. The requirement that chaplains be endorsed is correct, and when it was not strictly followed serious problems resulted. Evaluating the endorsement of chaplains is an extremely sensitive matter.

6. The civilian religious establishment has been both the chaplaincy’s strongest ally and its greatest critic.



LIEUTENANT COLONEL ALLEN ALKNSWORTH

An Officer And A Gentleman: Chaplain Allen Allensworth Of The Twenty-Fourth Infantry

William J. Hourihan

Writing to President Grover Cleveland in April, 1885, the Reverend Allen Allensworth, pastor of the Union Baptist Church in Cincinnati, Ohio, petitioned the Chief Executive that he be appointed a chaplain in the United States Army. In his letter Allensworth held that his appointment would provide an "opportunity to show, in behalf of the race, that a Negro can be an officer and a gentleman."¹ One year later President Cleveland signed Allensworth's appointment as Chaplain of the 24th Infantry Regiment, one of the Army's four black regiments. On July 1, 1886, Allensworth was ordered to join the regiment at Fort Supply in Indian Territory. Thus began a career in the Army which would end twenty years later in 1906, with Chaplain Allensworth holding the rank of lieutenant colonel, the highest ranking black in the American military at that time, the first of his race to reach this rank. He was also only the second Army chaplain to be promoted to lieutenant colonel when that rank became open to chaplains in 1905. It had been a remarkable military career for a man who had been born a slave in 1842.²

The son of Levi and Phyllis Allensworth came into a world in which both he and his parents were the property of the Starbird family of Louisville, Kentucky. When he was "old enough to be of service," Allensworth wrote later, he was given to one of the family's sons, Thomas

Dr. William J. Hourihan is the US Army Chaplain Branch Historian assigned to the US Army Chaplain Center and School, Fort Monmouth, NJ. He holds the Ph.D. from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, and is a faculty member of Monmouth College, West Long Branch where he teaches Military History. He is a frequent contributor to the Military Chaplains' Review and other publications.

¹Allen Allensworth to Grover Cleveland, April 1, 1885, Record Group 94, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Letters Received by the Appointment Commission and Personnel Branch, National Archives, File No. 670, Box 1006 "Allen Allensworth."

²The main sources for this article in addition to ACP, RG 94, NRS are: Allen Allensworth Biographical File, Archives, United States Army Chaplain Center and School, Fort Monmouth, N.J.; John Phillip Langellier, "Chaplain Allen Allensworth and the 24th Infantry, 1886-1906," *The Smoke Signal* XL (Fall 1980), 189-208; Charles Alexander, *Battles and Victories of Allen Allensworth* (Boston: Sherman, French & Company, 1914).

Starbird.³ At this age he served as a playmate/companion for the young Starbird child. The relationship was an important one because it provided Allensworth with the initial rudiments of his education. At the urging of Allen's mother the two boys played school together, with Thomas Starbird essentially passing along to Allensworth what he had been learning in the classroom.⁴ Thus began Allensworth's education. It would become a life-long affair. By becoming literate, albeit secretly and with great difficulty, he had taken the first step on the road to becoming a truly free man.

Allensworth continued his furtive education until the Starbird family learned about it and ended the relationship between the boys. Eventually Allen and his mother (his father had died when Allen was an infant) were sold and he was separated from her, although both stayed in the Louisville area. He resumed his education on his own with the help of a Webster speller and the *Bible*. He was not alone in this, for as he remembered later, "... after the *Bible*, no work [Webster's] was so popular or more highly praised among slaves as this little volume. . . ."⁵ In 1855, at the age of thirteen, he made his first attempt to escape bondage by fleeing to Canada. He was caught, returned to his owner, and then attempted to escape again. As a result of this second failed attempt his owner sold him to a trader heading into the deep South, a common solution to unruly slaves in the border states. He first went to Memphis, Tennessee, and later to New Orleans, Louisiana. Here Allensworth was trained as a jockey and spent several years prior to the Civil War racing horses throughout the South. During this same period he was bought and sold a number of times.⁶

The Civil War was arguably the most significant historical event in nineteenth century America. The entire society experienced a titanic social, economic, and political upheaval which deeply altered the nation and its future. The war was critical for Allen Allensworth in that it gave him not only his freedom, but also the opportunity to profoundly change the direction of his life. It was during the early months of the conflict that Allensworth, now twenty, made a successful third attempt to escape. Reaching Illinois he attached himself to the 44th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment as a hospital corpsman/nurse, and then accompanied the 44th as it moved South with a Union army in the 1862 campaign into Tennessee. After this he served in a similar capacity on the steamer *St. Patrick*, which was being used on the Mississippi as a hospital ship for the Union Army.⁷

In April, 1863, Allensworth enlisted in the U.S. Navy as a seaman and was assigned to the river gunboat *Queen City*. For the next three and a half years he would see service on a series of Union gunboats on the Mississippi. On the *Queen City* his intelligence was recognized and he became the captain's steward and chief clerk, and was promoted to petty officer. When the captain transferred his command to the gunboat *Tawah*, Allensworth went along with him. After the sinking of the *Tawah*, he served

³Alexander, *Battles and Victories*, 7.

⁴*Ibid.*, 7-8.

⁵*Ibid.*, 20.

⁶*Ibid.*, 133-170.

⁷*Ibid.*, 172-176.

on the ironclad gunboats *Cincinnati* and *Pittsburgh*. His naval career ended when he was honorably discharged on September 4, 1865, holding the rate of chief petty officer.⁸

Reunited with his mother and family in Louisville after the war, Allensworth served for a time as commissary to the commandant of the Navy Yard at Mound City, Illinois. Then, in 1867, he and his brother William went down river to St. Louis where they established two successful restaurants. Selling out at a profit and returning to Louisville, Allensworth began to realize an old dream when he embarked upon his first foray into formal education at the age of twenty-six. He attended the Ely Normal School which the Freedman's Bureau had established near Louisville. He then continued his education at Roger Williams University in Nashville, Tennessee, where he studied education and theology. This thirst for learning was combined with a long-standing interest in religion when Allensworth underwent a religious conversion, first joining the Baptist church and then being ordained into the Baptist ministry. After graduating from Roger Williams (the school would award him an honorary Master of Arts degree in 1887) he ministered to several Kentucky congregations, and "acquired a reputation as a forceful preacher and religious educator."⁹ He also worked as a financial agent for the General Association of the Colored Baptists in Kentucky, Superintendent of Sunday Schools of the Kentucky Baptist Convention, and missionary for the American Baptist Publication Society in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.¹⁰

Active as well in Republican party politics in this period, he was chosen as a Republican elector from Kentucky in 1880, and he attended the Republican national conventions in 1880 and 1884 as Kentucky's only black delegate. He achieved a certain amount of influence in Republican politics because of his "tact, moderate disposition, and ability as a public speaker."¹¹ In these years he also made a lecture tour of the New England states and served the Joy Street Baptist Church of Boston for four months while the congregation looked for a permanent minister. In 1884, he left Louisville with his wife Josephine (he had married in 1877) and two young daughters to take up a position as pastor of the Union Baptist Church in Cincinnati.¹²

Even before moving to Cincinnati Allensworth had begun to take an interest in becoming an Army chaplain. This was stimulated in 1882, when a soldier in one of the Army's black regiments wrote to him asking that he use his influence to have a black chaplain appointed to the regiment. In 1884, his interest increased when he heard that the Reverend Henry V. Plummer had been appointed as chaplain of the 9th Cavalry Regiment, the first black chaplain since the Civil War. Allensworth also discovered that the white chaplain of the 24th Infantry Regiment was planning to retire. This provided the impetus for him to commence a two year campaign of letter-

⁸*Ibid.*, 180-186.

⁹Langellier, "Chaplain Allen Allensworth," 191.

¹⁰Alexander, *Battles and Victories*, 195-217.

¹¹Earl F. Stover, *Up From Handymen: The United States Army Chaplaincy, 1865-1920*, Vol. III (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, 1977), 54.

¹²Alexander, *Battles and Victories*, 217-243.

writing, and political wire-pulling.¹³ "Not only," wrote Earl F. Stover, "did he persuade several congressmen, businessmen, and ministers to endorse his application, but also his former owner, Mrs. A.P. Starbird."¹⁴

Thus, Allensworth became the Army's second black chaplain, succeeding Chaplain James C. Lavery. The Army which Allensworth became a part of in 1886, was a small military force scattered over the United States. It was particularly undersized when compared to European armies of the same period, given the extent of the nation and its population. In truth, the Army can be justly described as amounting to no more than a frontier constabulary. Since 1876, when it had been reduced in size to a total of 27,472 officers and men, its numbers had remained relatively constant, and would stay so until the Spanish-American War. It was composed of 25 regiments of infantry, five regiments of artillery, and 10 of cavalry. Two of the infantry regiments, the 24th and the 25th, and two of the cavalry regiments, the 9th and 10th, were made up of black soldiers with white officers.¹⁵ Between 1866 and 1898, eight blacks received commissions in the United States Army. Three were line officers (all West Point graduates) who served with cavalry regiments, and five were chaplains. The names of Allensworth's compatriots in the chaplaincy during these years deserve mention. They were, besides Plummer (who served from 1884 to 1894) and Allensworth, Theophilus G. Steward, George W. Prioleau, and William T. Anderson.¹⁶

The chaplaincy which supported the Army was a tiny, ill-organized group of 34 men.

None of them had any ecclesiastical superior within the Army, such as a chief of chaplains or a chaplain general; they were all ultimately responsible to the one to whom they sent their reports, the Adjutant General of the Army. The Office of the Adjutant General maintained their records, made their assignments, approved or disapproved their requests for leaves of absence, and saw that they did their duties in accordance with Congressional legislation and Army regulations.¹⁷

Black chaplains, like their white counterparts, were commissioned and held the rank of chaplain without command. Their rank was equivalent to a captain of infantry, however their pay was that of a first lieutenant. Since 1867, all chaplains were "on the same footing with other officers as to terms of office, retirement, allowances for service, and pensions."¹⁸ When Allensworth arrived at Fort Supply in July, 1886, to take up his duties with the 24th, he wore the then regulation uniform of the chaplain which was quite different from the attire of a line officer. It consisted of a "fine black cloth coat, and trousers, shoulder straps, [with] shepherd's crook in the center, five braid frogs across the front of the coat, [and] nine black buttons down the front."¹⁹

¹³Langellier, "Chaplain Allen Allensworth," 192-194.

¹⁴Stover, *Up From Handymen*, 54.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁶Edward M. Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1874-1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 226.

¹⁷Stover, *Up From Handymen*, 32.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 2-3.

¹⁹Langellier, "Chaplain Allen Allensworth," 194.

The two years that Allensworth spent at Fort Supply saw him undertake many of the duties that fell to the Army chaplain of this period. Besides his religious function, he was also made the post treasurer and librarian. His most important work outside of his primary religious obligation was in education, and it was through his success in this field that he achieved his greatest renown. Because of the important role that chaplains had played in the education of blacks during the Civil War, the same 1866 law which specified the duties of the chaplain in the black regiment, also tasked the chaplain to include the "instruction of enlisted men in the common English branches of education."²⁰ Building on what Chaplain Lavery had already done for the 24th, Allensworth soon developed an educational program which included a small group of black enlisted soldiers serving as teaching assistants.²¹

Allensworth moved with the regiment when it was transferred to Fort Bayard, New Mexico, in 1888. Here he enlarged upon the role of educator that he had begun at Fort Supply. He developed a graded course of study for both children and soldiers in order to deal with the large numbers of students which he and his assistants were now charged with educating. In 1889, he published a pamphlet titled "Outline of Course of Study, and the Rules Governing Post Schools of Ft. Bayard, N.M." This guide "described his education program for six grades and the objective of each study. [It] called for a day by day program to be organized into two parts, one for children and the other for soldiers."²² The pamphlet and the program were praised in the *Army-Navy Journal*, and Brigadier General McCook, the commander of the Department of Arizona, wrote the Commanding General of the Army, recommending that Allensworth's program be adopted on an Army-wide basis. A number of other chaplains used Allensworth's methodology in organizing their own educational programs.²³

During the 1890's, the unique role that Allensworth played in the chaplaincy as an educator was recognized both inside and outside the military. In 1891, for example, the National Education Association asked him to address its convention in Toronto, Canada. His talk, titled "The History and Progress of Education in the U.S. Army," was warmly received. The *Toronto Globe* called Allensworth "a fluent and forceful speaker as well as a graceful writer."²⁴ In 1893, he served on detached duty at the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois, with a team of Army officers.²⁵

The outbreak of the Spanish-American War in April, 1898, found Allensworth and his regiment at Fort Douglas in Salt Lake City. The 24th had been stationed there since 1896. At a parade of the regiment just prior to its being sent to Florida, from where it would embark on the Cuban campaign, Allensworth addressed each company individually from horseback.

²⁰Act of Congress, July 28, 1866, Chapter 299, Section 30.

²¹Langellier, "Chaplain Allen Allensworth," 195.

²²*Ibid.*

²³Stover, *Up From Handymen*, 35.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 56.

²⁵Langellier, "Chaplain Allen Allensworth," 198.

Soldiers and Comrades: [he said] Fate has turned the war dogs loose and you have been called to the front to avenge an insult to your country's flag. Before leaving . . . I will say to you, 'Quit yourselves like men and fight.' Keep in mind that the eyes of the world will be upon you and expect great things of you. You have the opportunity to answer favorable the question, 'will the Negro fight?' Therefore, I say, 'quit yourselves like men and fight.'²⁶

According to Charles Alexander, Allensworth biographer, the men of the 24th "marched away with a cheerful step, inspired for the service before them."²⁷

Allensworth did not accompany the 24th in the Cuban campaign, where it took part in the charge up San Juan Hill along with Teddy Roosevelt's "Rough Riders." Instead, he was placed on detached duty as a recruiter for the regiment in the South, working in Louisville, Nashville, and Tuskegee. Early in 1899, the 24th was withdrawn from Cuba and sent to California where Allensworth joined them. Shortly thereafter the regiment was shipped to the Philippines where it was headquartered in Manila. Because of illness Allensworth returned to the United States in 1901, and temporarily assigned to Camp Reynolds, California, while he was convalescing.²⁸

In 1902, the 24th came back to this country and was posted to Forts Harrison, Missoula, and Assiniboine, in Montana. Allensworth was sent to Fort Harrison, but he travelled frequently to the other posts.²⁹ While he was at Fort Harrison the Congress in 1904 passed an act opening up the rank of major to chaplains for the first time. Of the 57 chaplains then in the Regular Army, 14 were adjudged fit for promotion. Of this number only four were deemed "exceptionally efficient" and promoted. Allensworth was one of the four. One year later, in 1905, another act of Congress opened the rank of lieutenant colonel to chaplains. Allensworth became the second chaplain chosen. After he was promoted he was placed on the retired list.³⁰ It was, declared one black newspaper, the *Cleveland Gazette*, "the highest honor ever given to an Afro-American."³¹ It would not be until World War I that another black, Charles Young, would reach the rank of full colonel.³²

After retirement Allensworth settled in California. In 1908, along with three other blacks, he formed the California Colony and Promotion Organization which began to purchase land in Tulare County in the San Joaquin Valley of California, about halfway between Los Angeles and San

²⁶*Ibid.*, 200.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 201.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 201.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 202.

³⁰Stover, *Up From Handymen*, 148, 150-151.

³¹*Cleveland Gazette*, April 21, 1906, p. 1.

³²Allen Allensworth Biographical File, Archives, U.S. Army Chaplain Center & School, Fort Monmouth, N.J. The path that Allensworth pioneered in his two decades in the chaplaincy was later expanded by other black chaplains. In 1936, Louis C. Carter of the 10th Cavalry became the first black chaplain to reach the rank of colonel; while 1989, has seen Chaplain (COL) Matthew A. Zimmerman chosen to become the Deputy Chief of Chaplains with the rank of brigadier general.

Francisco. The purpose being "to create a community entirely of blacks, a place where they could live and work in dignity, free from racial prejudice that had followed them in California."³³ On this land a new town was established and named Allensworth in honor of its founder. At its peak it contained almost two hundred black families. "Its citizens," writes Stover, "engaged in farming, dairying and mercantile pursuits. In only six years [1908–1914], the town grew to be a market center of the surrounding area, and included a hotel, post office, and railroad station."³⁴ After Allensworth's death in 1914, the town began to decline and was eventually abandoned. Today, the site of the settlement has been designated the Allensworth State Historical Park by the state of California.³⁵

It had been a remarkable life. Allen Allensworth had gone from being a slave to become the highest ranking black officer in the United States military. Looking back over his life one cannot come away without being impressed by what he experienced and achieved, especially when one takes into consideration the great barriers which circumscribed a man of his race during this period in American history. Slave, Civil War gunboat sailor on the Mississippi, businessman, pastor, educator, politician, officer in the United States Army and chaplain. It was, indeed, a remarkable life.

³³Langellier, "Chaplain Allen Allensworth," 203.

³⁴Allen Allensworth Biographical File.

³⁵*Ibid.*

Seeking God's Presence

Arnold E. Resnicoff

Editor's Note: At the time of the 23 October 1983 Beirut truck-bomb attack, Navy Chaplain Arnold Resnicoff was ashore with the marines. The following report, submitted by Chaplain Resnicoff at the request of the White House, was read by President Reagan to a crowd of some 20,000 Baptist ministers, at "Baptist Fundamentalist '84"—a meeting chaired by the Reverend Jerry Falwell, and held in April of 1984 at the Washington, DC, convention center.

When I found myself staring at the horror of the truck bomb explosion that day in Beirut, there was an impulse to cry out that we had, indeed, been forsaken. One of the first to reach the building after the blast, I—along with Lieutenant Commander George ("Pooch") Pucciarelli, the Catholic Chaplain attached to the marine unit—faced a scene almost too terrible to describe. Bodies, and pieces of bodies, were everywhere. Screams of those injured or trapped were barely audible at first, as our minds struggled to grapple with the reality before us: a massive four-story building reduced to a pile of rubble; dust, mixing with smoke and fire, obscuring the view of the little that was left.

Because we had thought that the sound of the explosion was still related to a single rocket or shell, most of the marines had run toward the foxholes and bunkers, while we—the chaplains—had gone to the scene of the noise, "just in case" someone had been wounded. Now, as news spread quickly throughout the camp—news of the magnitude of the tragedy; news of the need for others to run to the aid of those comrades who might still be alive—marines came from all directions.

There was a sense of God's presence that day in the small miracles of life which we encountered in each body that, despite all odds, still had a breath within. But there was more of His presence, more to keep our faith alive, in the heroism—and in the *humanity*—of the men who responded to the cries for help.

We saw marines risk their own lives again and again, as they went into the smoke and the fire to try to pull someone out, or as they worked to uncover friends, all the while knowing that further collapse of huge pieces of concrete, precariously perched like dominoes, could easily crush the rescuers.

Commander Arnold Resnicoff, CHC, USN, is a Rabbi on the staff of the Chief of Naval Education and Training, Pensacola, Florida. He has taught at the Naval War College, and the Naval Chaplains' School, Newport, RI.

There was humanity at its best that day, and a reminder not to give up the hope and dreams of what the world *could be*, in the tears that could still be shed by these men, regardless of how cynical they had pretended to be before; regardless of how much they might have seen before.

Certain images will stay with me, always. Sometimes we read of looting during tragedies. That day I remember a marine who found a wad of money amidst the rubble. He held it at arm's length as if it were dirty, and cried out for a match or a lighter so that it could be burned. No one that day wanted to profit from the suffering of the catastrophe. Later, the chaplains would put the word out that the money should be collected and given to us, for we were sure that a fund for widows and orphans would ultimately be established. But, at that moment, I was hypnotized with the rest of the men, and watched as the money was burned.

Working with the wounded—sometimes comforting, and simply letting them know help was on the way; sometimes trying to pull and carry those whose injuries appeared less dangerous in an immediate sense than the approaching fire or the smothering smoke—my *kippa* was lost. The last I remember it, I had used it to mop someone's brow. Fr. Pucciarelli, the Catholic chaplain, cut a circle out of his cap, a piece of camouflage cloth which would become my temporary head-covering. Somehow, we wanted those marines to know not just that we were chaplains, but that he was Christian and that I was Jewish. Somehow, we both wanted to shout the message in a land where peoples were killing each other at least partially based on the differences in religion among them that *we*—we Americans—still believed that we could be proud of our particular religions, and yet work side by side when the time came to help others, to comfort, and to ease pain.

Fr. Pucciarelli and I worked that day as brothers. The words from the prophet Malachi kept recurring to me, words he had uttered some 2500 years ago as he had looked around at fighting and cruelty and pain: "Have we not all one Father?" he asked. "Has not one God created us all?" It was painfully obvious, tragically obvious, that our world still could not show that we had learned to answer "yes." Still, I thought, perhaps some of us *can keep the question alive*. Some of us can cry out—as the marines did that day—that we believe the answer is "yes."

Before the bombing, "Pooch" and I had been in a building perhaps a hundred yards away. There had been one other chaplain, LT Danny Wheeler, a Protestant minister, who had spent the night in the building which was attacked. Pooch and I were so sure that he was dead that we had promised each other that, when the day came to return to the States, we would visit his wife together. Suddenly, Pooch noticed Danny's stole—what we used to call his "Protestant tallit." Because it was far from the area Danny was supposed to have been in, there was cautious hope that perhaps he had been thrown clear; that perhaps he had survived.

Later, Danny would tell the story of his terror. He was under the rubble, alive, not knowing what had happened, and not knowing how badly he was hurt. The first voices he had heard upon awakening were Lebanese—voices of volunteers who had come to help our troops during the rescue

attempt. For him, however, their voices were frightening: perhaps these were enemy troops who had overrun our camp.

He was afraid to cry out, he later told us. If these were enemy soldiers, perhaps they would shoot him. Then—and this statement of his gives me an inkling of the terror which filled him—he began to think that perhaps being shot was preferable to any other alternative at that time: preferably to dying slowly in such terrifying isolation.

Before he had to make a choice, American voices came through. These were the voices of the marines searching near his stole, and his cry for help at that time was answered with digging which lasted four hours before he was dragged out alive.

Danny told me later that I treated him like a new-born baby when he came out: that I counted fingers and toes, trying to see that he was whole. I didn't realize that I was so obvious, but the truth is that we could not believe that he was in one piece.

And, as I hugged him as they brought over a stretcher, I can still hear his first words. Racked with pain, still unsure of his own condition, he asked how his clerk was. Like so many of the men we would save that day, he asked first about others. These men, the survivors, still had no idea of the extent of the damage; they still thought that perhaps they had been in the one area of the building hit by a rocket or mortar. We would wait until later to sit with these men and tell them the truth, to share with them the magnitude of the tragedy.

After the living were taken out, there was much more work to be done. With the wounded, with those who had survived, there was the strange job of trying to ease a gnawing feeling of guilt that would slowly surface: guilt that they had somehow let down their comrades by not dying with them. So, our job was to tell them how every life saved was important to us: how their survival was important to our faith, and our hope. They had to give thanks—with us—that they still had the gift, and the responsibility, of life which would go on.

With others, the marines who stayed behind to continue the job of digging—a terrible, horrifying job of collecting human parts for identification and for eventual burial—there was the job of comforting them as they mourned. Thankfully, the self-defense mechanism within us took over from time to time, and we were able to work without reacting to each and every horror we would encounter. But, suddenly, something would trigger our emotions, something would touch our humanity in a way impossible to avoid.

For some, it would be the finding of a friend's body, someone filled with life only days before. For others, it would be a scrap of paper or a simple belonging—a birthday card, or a picture of someone's children—which would remind them that this was no abstract "body count" of two hundred and forty military casualties. This was a tragedy of *people*, where each was unique, and each had a story. Each had a past, and each had been cheated of a future. As the Mishnah puts it, each was a world. We were not digging up "two hundred and forty." We were digging up one, plus one, plus one . . .

I have a personal memory of two "things" which brought to my

mind images of life: images which haunt me still. One was a packet of three envelopes, tied together with a rubber band. On top, under the band, was a note which read, "To be mailed in case of death." The other was a Red Cross message, delivered the next morning. The American Red Cross is the agency used by Navy families to communicate medical news from home. This message was a birth announcement: a baby had been born, and we were to deliver the good news. Only now there was no father whom we could congratulate; no father to whom the news could be conveyed.

That message stayed on the chaplain's desk for days. Somehow, we couldn't throw it away. And, yet, we didn't know what to do with it. So it stayed on the desk. And, without mentioning it, we all seemed to avoid that desk. . . .

I stayed in Beirut for four more days, before finally returning to Italy, and to my family. During those days, as the work went on, a marine here or there would send a silent signal that he wanted me—that is, a *chaplain*—near. Sometimes it was to talk. Sometimes it was so that he could shrug his shoulders or lift his eyes in despair. Sometimes it was just to feel that I was near—for, despite the struggles I might be feeling on a personal level, I was a *chaplain*, and therefore a symbol that there was room for hope, and for dreams, even at the worst of times.

In Jewish tradition, of course, when we visit the home of a mourner during *shiva*, the first week following the death of a loved one, visitors follow a simple rule. If the mourner initiates the conversation, the visitor responds. Otherwise, you sit in silence, communicating concern through your very presence, even without words. Somehow, I applied the rules of *shiva* during these days of digging. When a soldier or sailor said something, I responded; otherwise, I stood by.

During all of my visits to Beirut, I, along with the other chaplains, spent much time simply speaking with the men. Informal discussions, whether going on while crouched in a foxhole or strolling toward the tent set up for chow, were just as important as anything formal we might set up. I remember the first time I jumped in a foxhole, the first time the shells actually fell within the U.S. area. Looking around at the others in there with me, I made the remark that we probably had set up the only "interfaith foxholes" in Beirut! The Druze, Muslims, Christians, all had theirs. The Jewish forces in the Israeli Army had theirs. But we were together. I made the comment then that perhaps, if the world had more interfaith foxholes, there might be less of a need for foxholes altogether.

To understand the role of the chaplain—Jewish, Catholic, or Protestant—is to understand that we try to remind others, and perhaps ourselves as well, to cling to our humanity, even in the worst of times. We bring with us the wisdom of men and women whose faith has kept alive their dreams in ages past. We bring with us the images of what the world *could be*, of what we ourselves *might be*, drawn from the visions of prophets and the promises of our holy books. We bring with us the truth that faith not only reminds us of the Holy in Heaven, but also of the holiness we can create here on earth. It brings not only a message of what is Divine, but also of what it means to be truly human.

It is too easy to give in to despair in a world sometimes seemingly filled with cruelty and brutality. But, we must remember not just the depths to which humans might sink, but also the heights to which they may aspire.

That October day in Beirut saw men reach heroic heights, indeed: heights of physical endurance and courage, to be sure; but heights of sacrifice, of compassion, of kindness, and of simple human decency, as well. And—even if the admission might bring a blush to the cheeks of a few of the marines—heights of love.

Long ago, the Rabbis offered one interpretation of the Biblical verse which tells us that we are created “in the image of God.” It does not refer to physical likeness, they explained, but to spiritual potential. We have within us the power to reflect as God’s creatures the highest values of our Creator. As God is forgiving and merciful, so can we be. As He is caring and kind, so must we strive to be. As He is filled with love, so must we be.

Because of the actions I witnessed during that Hell in Beirut, I glimpsed at least a fleeting image of Heaven. For, in the hearts and hands of men who chose to act as brothers, I glimpsed God’s hand as well. I did not stand alone to face a world forsaken by God; I felt I was part of one created with infinite care, and wonderful—awesome—potential.

We live in a world where it is not hard to find cause for despair. The chaplain has the challenge to bring to those who often see terror at its worst some reason for hope.

We need to keep faith, and to keep searching, even during the worst of times. Only then may we find strength enough to keep believing that the best of times still might be.

Lively Experiment: A Summary History Of The Air Force Chaplaincy

John E. Groh

Introduction

The USAF chaplaincy celebrated its 40th anniversary on May 10, 1989. Constituted as an independent agency in 1949, the chaplaincy reaches back to air operations in World War I and the world-wide conflict of World War II. It began in the U.S. Army and over the years established independence, but early Army experiences helped shape the contours of the Air Force chaplaincy. It struggled against its parent like an adolescent while appropriating traits carried into maturity.

Caesar divided Gaul into three parts, but our story falls into four. The first tells how the Air Force chaplaincy gained independence, forging identity around the chaplain's calling as a religious professional (I). The next two sections describe the chaplaincy's moorings in America's faith community (II) and its integration in Air Force structure (III). Faith groups and the institutional Air Force are the chaplaincy's two support systems, its reason for being and its place of operation. Part IV discusses chaplain ministry in military operations after WW II, which is covered in Part I. We use the method of the German term *Querdurchschnittung* ("line cut across") organizing material topically and chronologically within topics. Unless otherwise indicated factual data comes from the four historical volumes entitled *Air Force Chaplains* and research for the fifth.¹ All interpretations are the author's.

Chaplain. Colonel, John E. Groh, USAFR, is a Lutheran minister in Arizona. He is an Individual Mobilization Augmentee with the USAF Chief of Chaplains' Office. He holds a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, and was educated at Concordia Seminary—Seminex. He is the chief historian for the Air Force Chaplaincy.

¹See Daniel B. Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units, 1917–1946*, Air Force Chaplains, Volume I ([Washington, DC:] Office, Chief of Air Force Chaplains, [1961]), 344 pp.; Daniel B. Jorgensen, *Air Force Chaplains, 1947–1960*, Air Force Chaplains, Volume II ([Washington, DC:] Office, Chief of Air Force Chaplains, [1963]), 432 pp.; Martin H.

I. The Spirit of the Chaplaincy from Army Air Forces to United States Air Force

The Air Force chaplaincy is deeply rooted in the U.S. Army and its Air Forces. The most important contribution of the chaplaincy's ministry in WW II was a clear sense of the spirit of the chaplaincy. During the war Army Air Forces (AAF) chaplains increasingly understood that the mission of chaplains was to enable airmen to practice religious freedom under all conditions with the assistance of chaplain pastors, priests and rabbis, and they met that responsibility. To accomplish its mission the chaplaincy required cooperation, mutual concern for the good of all, and a healthy measure of goodwill. The chaplaincy was an experiment untried on the vast scale required by the war. Chaplain leaders continued their long struggle to ensure that chaplains were religious leaders first and foremost. In pursuit of this goal the strong and sometimes solitary ministry of chaplains at air bases around the world was of great assistance.

WW II sharpened the role of the chaplain as religious professional and rejected other assignments as largely incompatible, and regulations regularly included these provisions. Finally in 1974 the regulation's title proclaimed that the chaplaincy was not a program or a set of programs but the ministry of men and women of the cloth. The Chaplain Service existed to facilitate the free exercise of religion by personnel and dependents all over the world. In the process chaplains embodied the spirit of the chaplaincy. They were not deliverers of specified services, but a service themselves.

A. From Army Air Forces to United States Air Force

The Air Force chaplaincy owes its existence to air power. Heavier-than-air machines pushed the frontier beyond land and sea to the third medium of air and eventually outer space for the nation's defense. Young men on the go were lured by the excitement of flying, making the Air Service-Air Corps-Air Force an aggressive institution open to change. The development of air power was the acorn of the independent tree, if not at the start than surely after WW II.

The Air Force's mission and size seemed to preclude the Army's providing chaplains in perpetuity like the Navy did for the Marines. At least that was the argument of some, though opposed by others. It was an important reason why the United States Air Force chaplaincy finally achieved independence in 1949, two years after the Air Force. In this struggle the force of personality was pivotal, especially Chaplain Charles I. Carpenter's and that of other AF leaders.

Scharlemann, *Air Force Chaplains, 1961-1970*, Air Force Chaplains, Volume III ([Washington, DC:] Office, Chief of Air Force Chaplains, [1975]), 246 pp.; and John E. Groh, *Air Force Chaplains, 1971-1980*, Air Force Chaplains, Volume IV (Washington, DC: Office, Chief of Air Force Chaplains, 1986), 762 pp. The author is currently researching and writing Volume V in this series. The errors that inevitably creep into an account such as this are mine.

1. World War I and the Period Between the Wars

The genesis of the Air Force chaplaincy lies in WW I. Three chaplains (out of 1,274 in the Army) served in the Air Service in December 1918; by April the next year there were none. During the war chaplains received little support in the way of supplies and facilities. After hostilities ended an airplane crash killed one chaplain in the Air Service.

During WW I the role and status of the chaplain was not clearly defined. The chaplain's areas of work included these categories: (1) religious and pastoral; (2) educational and literary; (3) recreational; (4) military; and (5) social civilian liaison. During and after the war most aviation fields in the United States and overseas were covered rather inadequately by air chaplains, neighboring Army post chaplains, or by civilians from the YMCA or other religious groups including camp pastors. Ecclesiastical endorsement consisted merely of letters from five ministers; by the end of the 1930's clergymen seeking appointment were endorsed by the Military Ordinariate or the General Commission on Army and Navy Chaplains.

The *New York Globe* published a chaplain's photograph preaching from a biplane bomber's cockpit in France, noting he deserved the title "sky pilot" since he accompanied several pilots at the front. Toward the end of the war the Air Service tried to require Air Service chaplains to have wings, but the Chief of Chaplains outlawed the standard around 1921.

A very important development between the wars was the creation of the Office of the Chief of Chaplains, U.S. Army in 1920. After the Armistice the number of Army chaplains on active duty plummeted from 2,363 to 125 in 1922, including five authorized for Air Service fields. But a strong Reserve chaplain program was instituted with over 1,100 Reserve commissions by 1925. Some Reservists entered active duty in the Civilian Conservation Corps camps after 1933. Chief of Chaplains Terrence P. Finnegan (1958–62) began his career in these camps.

Most chaplains were assigned to duties incompatible with their professional vocation during the inter-war period. The chaplain at Brooks Field in 1920 served as chaplain, post librarian, morale officer, exchange officer, and was in charge of the Army Service Club. Many were involved as defense counsels in courts-martials. Apparently the first chaplain flew to conduct a memorial service in 1927 and a wedding ceremony three years earlier.

Army Chief of Chaplains William R. Arnold (1937–45) received strong support from Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall, who published an order limiting chaplains to their professional duties. The old days of mixed signals were drawing to a close; the new dawn was hastened by the chaplain's awesome pastoral responsibilities in the next terrible war. But even in WW II there were exceptions, including these among others: for a short time three chaplains recruited for the Women's Army Corps, partly because clergy opposed female service, and an Augustinian priest taught aeronautics and meteorology in addition to his work as a chaplain.

2. The Second World War

WW II brought enormous growth in air personnel and in the air chaplaincy. In 1939 the Army's air arm had 26,000 men at 17 bases and 4 depots; all non-cargo aircraft were obsolete except the B-17. In June 1940 the Army had 382 chaplains on active duty; rapid call-ups raised the total to 1,487 when Pearl Harbor was attacked. By that time air arm numbers climbed to 300,000, with 12,000 planes. The Army Air Forces strength finally peaked at 2,400,000 in March 1944, composing 31% of Army personnel; about 1.9 million of these personnel were in the Air Corps, which had nearly 80,000 aircraft at that time. The Army Air Forces (AAF) consolidated air activities under the command of Major General H.H. ("Hap") Arnold in June 1941.

The attack on Pearl Harbor found air chaplains ministering to hundreds of dying and wounded airmen. They included Chaplain Finnegan, who was strafed but uninjured at Schofield Barracks. At Hickam Field one senior chaplain's assistant was killed at the altar of an old wooden hangar being used as a theater and chapel; another died while trying to set up a machine gun. Six air chaplains in the Philippines became prisoners of war. Presumably the first air chaplain killed in action in a theatre of operation during WW II was Chaplain Keith V. Munro, killed by an exploding Japanese plane while conducting services on August 15, 1943.

The unprecedented demand for Protestant chaplains at the beginning of WW II brought the development of denominational commissions that could endorse in ten days; the General Commission took 3-4 months for the process. During the war some chaplains tried to have their ecclesiastical endorsements withdrawn as a matter of personal or church convenience, but the Chief of Chaplains and Air Chaplain resisted such efforts. A policy emerged that an endorsement should not be withdrawn for the chaplain's or church's convenience but only for cause, or if a chaplain demonstrated unfitness to represent his faith group. Among other minority religious groups, Jewish, Christian Science, Latter-day Saints, Unitarian, and Universalist chaplains served in the Army chaplaincy during the war, and some (including Christian Science and Latter-day Saints) in the AAF.²

In March 1942 the AAF had 268 chaplains. In July the title "Air Chaplain" was adopted for the position in General Arnold's headquarters. That month Chaplain (Captain) Charles I. Carpenter of Langley Field, an Army chaplain since 1937, received two sets of orders (Mitchell Field and

²By September 1945 the Army had 7,920 chaplains on duty including 3 Greek Orthodox, 2 Seventh-Day Adventist, 1 Reorganized Latter Day Saint, 23 Unitarian, 10 Universalist, 24 Christian Science, 34 Latter-day Saint, and 243 Jewish chaplains, among others. The War Department organized an all-Greek battalion in 1942 and authorized a Greek Orthodox chaplain, provided nearly a year later. In 1943 a regiment of Japanese Americans was organized, composed largely of Buddhists. The Buddhist Mission of North America was asked to furnish a chaplain but after considerable effort reported that it could not find a qualified candidate. Two Christian chaplains of Japanese descent were then assigned. See Roy J. Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army* (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, 1958), pp. 215-17, 221.

Maxwell Field), but Chaplain Arnold overruled both and designated him as Air Chaplain on July 28, 1942. He began using the title in his signature block in January the next year, never using the title "Air Chief of Chaplains." He served in this position from July 1942 to January 1945, and again from 1946 to July 1949, when he became Chief of Air Force Chaplains until 1958. Chaplain Gynther Storaasli was Air Chaplain from January to December 1945 while Chaplain Carpenter was in Europe.

The major challenge facing the Air Chaplain was to define the relationship of his office to the Army Air Forces, the Chief of Chaplains, the Air Liaison Chaplain in the Chief's Office (a senior ranking chaplain whose position was finally eliminated in 1945), and air chaplains in the field. Chaplain Carpenter exercised authority for air chaplains equivalent to the Chief of Chaplains but held the rank of captain. Promotions came quickly and by August 1943 he was a colonel. When he became a major general in 1949 his date of rank was back-dated to 1943, making him the senior chaplain on the Armed Forces Chaplain Board.³

Chaplain Carpenter was concerned at the time about getting recognition of the Air Corps chain of command, thereby gaining control of chaplains assigned to the Air Corps. All monthly chaplain reports went directly to Army Chief of Chaplains, so he asked the Chief's Office to have Air Corps chaplains forward them through the air chain of command and his office to the Chief's Office. The Air Liaison in the Chief's Office said that according to the Deputy, "You can't do it." The Air Chaplain's office compiled an order for publication by the War Department to have reports sent through air channels, and while he was in the section of the Pentagon occupied by the Secretary of War's staff, Chaplain Carpenter met an old friend from Langley [Colonel Lynch] and explained his problem. The friend took the order, stamped it "By Order of the Secretary of War," and put it in an out-basket. "This is a supply office," Chaplain Carpenter said to him, and there will be trouble, but the colonel gave him assurance to the contrary. In several weeks the order made the Air Corps command a chain of command for chaplains' reports. Later recounting what happened, Chaplain Carpenter said:

I got a call from the Chief of Chaplains' Office that the Chief wanted to see me. I went down, and as I went in to him I said to him, "I'm glad you called me, because I want to thank you for something you've done." He said, "What's that?" I said, "For publishing that amendment to the 65 series that gives recognition to the Air Corps chain of command." He said, "Oh, I thought you published that." I said, "I brought this down a number of times here and I thought you people had gotten it out for me. Well, it's been published anyhow, and it's a thing that's needed." And nothing more was said about it. This started us off as a recognized part-branch—if you want to call it a branch—of the Chaplains Corps within the Army Air Corps.⁴

This was an important turning point in the battle for an independent AF chaplaincy.

³Interview of Chaplain, Major General, Charles I. Carpenter by Chaplain, Colonel, James M. Thurman, March 25, 1987 (hereafter cited as Carpenter Interview).

⁴Interview of Chaplain, Major General, Charles I. Carpenter by Captain Douglas M. Tocado, July 31, 1971 (hereafter cited Tocado Interview of Carpenter); Carpenter Interview.

Chaplain Carpenter later recounted that in 1942 General Arnold told him to “establish the chaplaincy for the Air Corps.” He continued, “I looked a little dubious and he added, ‘I know—it isn’t [in existence yet], but it will be.’” Reflecting on the times, he noted that senior officers were working ardently toward an independent Air Force. Most commanders were oriented toward religion, gave strong support to religious enterprises, and showed deep interest in individuals. For example, one time General Arnold read that a newly commissioned officer drowned while being baptized and asked about the circumstances. After determining that the young lad was drowned while home on his first leave—the pastor was saved from the river hole—he gave his report to the general. During the conversation the AAF commander said, “If I weren’t here I would have been a chaplain.”⁵

By March 1943 AAF chaplains numbered 1,249, including 21 supervisory chaplains. The number grew to 1,639 in December 1943, 1,925 in December 1944, and then fell to 1,861 in April 1945. The goal was to provide a chaplain for each 1,000 military personnel, using religious information from the 1936 census (published in 1939) for faith group recruiting quotas. Despite a phenomenal build-up in personnel, air chaplains encountered grave problems in providing adequate coverage for troops around the globe. Coverage overseas was especially difficult, and doubly difficult for Jewish chaplains. Chaplains with certain physical liabilities (including vision) were not sent overseas: in addition, normally the Air Chaplain only sent captains since overseas promotions were limited. In 1943 he also restricted overseas duty to those under 44 years of age (the average age of AAF chaplains in 1945 was 37 years). In December 1944, 924 AAF chaplains served overseas and 1,011 in the United States; soon over half were overseas. An unusual problem arose when 200,000 men in fighter and bomber service groups were moved to England late in 1943 with no provision for doctors or chaplains. Within two months 140 chaplains were dispatched for the mission. The Air Chaplain and other supervisory chaplains traveled heavily during the war, visiting and encouraging chaplains in all locations.

Armed with a bulky chaplain’s outfit of equipment and supplies (faith groups provided chaplain kits), air chaplains served in the European and Asian theaters, including the USSR and China, as well as in the United States. They “flew the Hump,” ministered to injured and dying at crash scenes, conducted worship services and pre-mission services, administered sacraments and rites, prayed in briefing rooms, visited the sick and wounded, buried the dead, performed marriages, counseled, performed ministry as prisoners in POW camps, offered religious and moral education, ministered on troop ships, used local materials to build chapels, visited duty stations and sites, organized morale, recreational and humanitarian activities, engaged in public relations, and performed the myriad of other

⁵Panel of Four Previous Chiefs of Chaplains, USAF (Chaplain, Major General, Charles I Carpenter; Chaplain, Major General, Henry J. Meade; Chaplain, Major General, John A. Collins; and Chaplain, Major General, Stuart E. Barstad), Command Chaplains Conference, May 22–26, 1989, Homestead AFB, FL (hereafter cited as Chiefs Panel).

duties required of wartime chaplains. One major problem was the lack of a realistic rotation schedule for chaplains overseas; many of them served two or three years with little relief and were subject to severe fatigue. The only ones returning were the sick and those receiving special assignments.

During the war the Chief of Chaplains opposed flying training for chaplains and in 1943 restricted the issuance of flying ratings to chaplains. The problem of chaplains flying on combat missions was more complex. Air Chaplain Carpenter advised in 1944 that the issue "should be left entirely to the judgment of the commanding officer of the combat unit to which the chaplain is assigned." In 1943 he instructed supervising chaplains that white chaplains "may be assigned to units composed of colored troops providing no colored chaplains are available." Black chaplains in the AAF often carried out itinerant ministries, and some white chaplains served Black units.

Nine AAF chaplains were killed in action during the war; one was missing in action and declared dead after hostilities ceased; six were wounded as a result of enemy actions; and fifteen died in non-battle related deaths (disease, accident, etc.). Six were taken as prisoners of war but only Chief of Chaplains Robert P. Taylor (1962–66) and Chaplain Leslie F. Zimmerman returned. One air chaplain killed in action was Alexander Goode. He was one of four chaplains on the USS *Dorchester* who gave their life preservers to others and prayed while the ship sank.

For chaplains, grades above captain were reserved for supervisory positions. Up to the end of the war most base and wing chaplains could not progress beyond the rank of captain, no matter how great their responsibilities. In September 1944, 20% of the 1,925 AAF chaplains were first lieutenants, 70% were captains, 7.7% majors, 1.8% lieutenant colonels, and .5% colonels (10).

By 1939 only seventeen permanent chapels had been built on posts or airfields in the history of the Army, including two at Randolph Field (1934) and Langley Field (1935, cost of \$110,000) built with WPA funds, and one at Barksdale Field. In March 1941 Congress authorized nearly \$15 million for the Army to construct over 600 frame chapel buildings, each seating 600. The allotment of 555 cantonment-type chapels at an average cost of \$27,000 included 73 for Air Corps bases. The initial Army-wide authorization was later raised so that by the end of the war over 1,532 chapels were in use. Religious groups were surprised that chapels could be built for use by all faith groups. In overseas areas chaplains and troops constructed chapels with local materials; some were more semi-permanent than others. But chaplains often had to struggle to find a place for services. One in the Eight Air Force complained: I have been moved from mess hall to barracks, to furnace room, to tent, to supply hut, and to dayroom for my chapel services, but I draw the line on going to the shower room for I don't believe in sprinkling. I'm a Baptist!

3. United States Air Force and the Air Force Chaplaincy

On September 18, 1947 the United States Air Force became a separate military department, less than forty years after the first military flight with a heavier-than-air machine. AAF personnel numbered 2,250,000 at end of war

but were down to 300,000 in June 1947. Over 2,200 chaplains served in the AAF during the war, but in April 1947 their number stood at 230, falling from 1,800 on active duty in August 1945 to 300 in August 1946. Demobilization was a reality soon to be reversed by the Berlin Airlift and the Korean Conflict.

An "Army-Air Force Agreement" governed the separation of the Air Force. Both services officially opposed a separate chaplaincy because it would be the first violation of a Spaatz-Eisenhower accord to preclude parallel organizations unless organically necessary. Though reportedly no AAF chaplain was consulted about the Agreement, it provided that "chaplains of the Army normally will be attached for duty with the United States Air Force for a three or four year period. . . . While attached for duty with the United States Air Force, Chaplains will be under the command and assignment jurisdiction of the Chief of Staff, United States Air Force." The Agreement assumed that chaplains would rotate between the two services, but the rotation was not implemented. Meanwhile Air Chaplain Carpenter consistently stressed the need for chaplains to have pastoral identity with their troops.

In 1947 he learned that the Personnel Affairs program, a distinctive AF program created by General and Mrs. Arnold to assist families, was being eliminated because of personnel reductions. At his request—in order to maintain chaplain slots—the Casualty and Dependents Assistance Program portion was transferred to the Air Chaplain and remained there until 1952. Colonel Charles Maylon in AAF Personnel was instrumental in the transfer of this program, assisting Chaplain Carpenter as in so many other areas. Chaplain Carpenter said of him in 1971:

Charlie Maylon was without a doubt the greatest influence on the development of the chaplaincy as it came to be within the Air Force. He was understanding, he knew all the routine roads of military development within the service, and all the shortcuts! And he had no hesitancy whatsoever in telling you how to dodge here and duck there and get what you wanted on the basis of whatever had to be done. He sat high enough in the chain of command to always be in a position to be sure your interests were taken care of whenever intruded upon, and if anything, *he* is the man who actually in my estimation built the chaplaincy in the United States Air Force as it is today, not because he had any particular religious ideas about chaplains, but because he had the know-how about the military, and made it possible for us to express our ideas, and then he told us how to put them into action. And he put them into the practical side.

He added that Maylon had been the executive of a series of Deputy Chiefs of Staff of Personnel "from way back in the beginning of time." Earlier Maylon had been a sergeant at Bolling Field.⁶ Maylon's daughter played an important role in the chaplains' Casualty and Dependents Assistance Program.

In one sense this transfer seemed to be a step back from consistent emphasis on the chaplain's professionalism, but a similar move also provided openings and a sense of permanence for chaplain assistants, as we will see below.

⁶Tocado Interview of Carpenter.

When the USAF was formed the plan was for the Army to provide chaplains like the Navy did for the Marines. In 1948, at the request of the first USAF Chief of Staff, General Carl Spaatz, Chaplain Carpenter prepared a one-page briefing on the need and desirability of a separate chaplaincy. The Army Chief of Chaplains was not enthusiastic about a change. At the early morning appointment with the general Chaplain Carpenter provided a summary of his points. After an awkward silence General Spaatz replied, "Chaplain, it's already been decided. My mind is made up. There will be no separate chaplaincy for the Air Force. In fact, I have a conference at 11 o'clock with Chaplain Miller [Chief of Chaplains Luther D. Miller] of the Army to work out the details." But around 12 noon General Spaatz' office called and asked him to return with his one-page briefing, according to Chaplain Carpenter. He continued in his recollection:

So I went and took the paper with me. He took it, folded under my name at the bottom and shoved it under the glass of his desk, and he said to me, "Chaplain, I've changed my mind. The chaplains will be a separate and distinct part of the Air Force. We will not be serviced by the Army. I am seeing General [Chaplain] Miller at 3 o'clock, and he will be told this at that time, and you will begin to work out the arrangements for transfer of chaplains."

What happened in the intervening time? According to information Chaplain Carpenter later obtained, Chaplain Miller apparently was over-exuberant when he heard the decision from General Spaatz. "You'll need a Brigadier General in this job," he reportedly said, and offered to transfer his Deputy, Chaplain O'Neill. Spaatz then reportedly asked about his plans for Chaplain Carpenter, to which Chaplain Miller replied, "We'll find a place for him," suggesting that the office should be vacated in a week or ten days. Apparently with those words Chaplain Miller tilted against a windmill and lost the battle.⁷

This series of conversations personified the motto, "The Air Force takes care of its own." It also epitomized the drive of senior AAF and AF commanders to build the structure of an independent Air Force, an impulse as important as any in giving genesis to a separate AF chaplaincy.

In his arguments favoring a separate chaplaincy Chaplain Carpenter repeatedly emphasized that separation would not require any significant increase in personnel or funds. On June 11, 1948, a year before legislation authorized a separate chaplaincy, the Office of the Air Chaplain was designated the Office of the Chief of Air Force Chaplains, and Chaplain Carpenter was designated Chief of Air Force Chaplains.

On May 10, 1949 the Office, Secretary of Defense established the USAF chaplaincy in Transfer Order #35; the transfer was accomplished by July 26, 1949 when statutory authority terminated. The Chief of Chaplains was a staff subordinate to the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel. Active duty AF chaplains numbered 458 (with 573 Reservists on inactive status) for about 415,000 AF personnel. Less than ten of the chaplains on active duty in the Air Force elected to remain with the Army.

⁷This account of the Spaatz-Carpenter conversations is a compilation of material found in Jorgensen (I, 6-7), Carpenter Interview, and Tocado Interview of Carpenter.

On May 18, 1949 the Army and Air Force Chaplain's Board (later to include the Navy) was established to facilitate transfer of chaplains and to solve mutual problems regarding funds and other items. This was the beginning of what was later called the Armed Forces Chaplains Board. Chaplain Carpenter was promoted to major general on July 27, 1949; when he left the position of Chief to go to the AF Academy he reverted to the rank of colonel. Chaplain Peter A. Dunn (1949–50) was named the first Deputy. The first Deputy with the rank of brigadier general was Chaplain Augustus Gearhard (1950–53).

The transfer of the chaplaincy helped open the way for medical personnel to be assigned to the AF as well. Even before Transfer Order #35 was issued the basic AF chaplain regulation was distributed on December 6, 1948. Air Force Regulation (AFR) 165–3, titled "Air Force Chaplain Program," followed earlier Air Chaplain regulations in 1945, 1947, and 1946.

In a clear move to demonstrate separate identity, in September 1949 the AF chaplain's insignia was moved from the lapel to the service coat or shirt above the left breast pocket. Army Military Police in Korea suffered from misinformation soon thereafter when they picked up an AF chaplain for impersonating a chaplain as he correctly wore the insignia on his chest.

Reflecting on the nature of the Air Force and the chaplaincy during WW II and in the postwar period, Chaplain Carpenter observed that there was a great deal of autocracy in both. No one doubted that the last word was the Chief of Staff's and locally the commander's, and most of them were religious men. He remembered how General Norstad, a preacher's son, decided to hold a conference of NATO chaplains. "I told him you can't do this; he did, and it is still going on." He described how Chaplain Constantine E. Zielinski, his assistant as Air Chaplain from 1943–46, was visiting a field out in the western United States where aircraft were being used to bring girls to the base. The chaplain spoke with the commander and was asked, "Who are you?" "Deputy Air Chaplain," he replied. "You go and deputy-air-chaplain somewhere else," said the commander. Chaplain Zielinski warned him not to forget what he told him since the next person he would talk with was Hap Arnold. The commander was not disturbed, but soon thereafter General Arnold broke the colonel to major and removed him from command. After the war Chaplain Carpenter was traveling to Japan and met a chaplain returning from there. He learned that a commander had dismissed the chaplain under similar circumstances. Upon returning to Washington he informed General Nathan Twining, Chief of Staff, and the National guard brigadier general commander was relieved of command and sent home.⁸

In a sense chaplains served as moral guardians and censors in these cases and in other ways, including monitoring USO shows. The chaplain was the conscience in an autocratic institution. Eventually both sides of this equation changed radically.

⁸Chief's Panel.

B. The Spirit of the Chaplaincy

The spirit of the AF chaplaincy rests on the unshakable premise that chaplains are first and foremost representatives of the Transcendent who facilitate the free exercise of religion by personnel and dependents. Building on a foundation laid by Army Chief of Chaplains Arnold and Chief of Staff Marshall, in the early years air chaplain leaders clarified this role by stripping away extraneous duties and emphasizing the chaplain's spiritual role both to chaplains and endorsing faith groups.

This foundation was not ignored as the chaplaincy matured. Opportunities arose in every decade to highlight the chaplain's pastoral role: in regulatory form, in battles fought by the Chief's Office, and in the chaplain's day-to-day activities on hundreds of bases. But since the chaplaincy is an experiment poised somewhat precariously between America's faith community and the Air Force it serves, its spirit has always been—and will always be—tested and refined by fire.

Air Chaplain Carpenter constantly emphasized the professionalism of chaplains as clergypersons, urging them not to lose respect for their profession as religious leaders. Shortly after becoming Air Chaplain he was visited by a chaplain with flying wings. He immediately informed the chaplain that he was going to General Arnold to have all chaplains with wings removed from flying status, reminding him that "you're the only person to represent faith, not something else."⁹

Chaplain Carpenter reportedly logged 650,000 miles between 1945 and 1958 by plane and car preaching this message. In mid-1948 these words described the AF chaplain's functions:

A chaplain in the Air Force is primarily a minister of religion, and as such is the adviser to the commanding general or commanding officer on all matters pertaining to religious life, morals, and character-building within a given command.

The first AF regulation on chaplains in December 1948 repeated the statement and added an important link:

Chaplains will not be detailed to duties other than those required of them by law or pertaining to their specialty in the field of religion except when an extreme military emergency exists. When such an emergency makes it necessary for chaplains to perform secular duties, chaplains will not be assigned to any duty incompatible with their status as noncombatants under the terms of the Geneva Convention. Such emergency assignments will be made only upon written concurrence of the air chaplain of the command concerned.

In a further move to clarify the chaplain's function and responsibility for all religious activity on a base, in 1950 the regulation provided that no civilian faith group could operate on a base without the commander's invitation.

Another significant change occurred in 1954. Though some ranking chaplains preferred to be addressed by rank, the regulation stated that "a chaplain in the Air Force is officially designated 'chaplain' regardless of grade." Commenting on the chaplain's pastoral function in 1974, Chief of Chaplains Roy M. Terry (1970–74) said:

⁹Chief's Panel.

True, we move within a system, we hold certain grades within it, but we are first and foremost pastors. If the chaplain doesn't play that role, if he's playing games with people—that comes through faster than a three-dollar bill. A genuineness is missing that ought to be there in a pastoral relationship.

Reflecting on the continuing efforts of Chiefs of Chaplains to protect the chaplain's role as clergy, Chief of Chaplains Stuart E. Barstad (1985–88) noted in 1989 in a panel discussion of earlier Chiefs that all later building rested on this foundation. Chaplains do what no one else can; their legitimacy as religious leaders rests on a firm relationship with America's faith groups and the functions they want chaplains to perform. It is important to educate chaplains, especially new ones, to understand this primary role and their function on base teams. Command chaplains and Installation Staff Chaplains (ISCs) are charged with nurturing a clear understanding of the chaplaincy, he added. Chief of Chaplains Barstad was a strong proponent of the idea of the spirit of the chaplaincy.¹⁰

Through the years Chiefs of Chaplains emphasized that the spirit of the chaplaincy left no room for a military church. As one way to avoid a bureaucratized, top-heavy chaplaincy emphasizing rank over ministry, in the Seventies Chief of Chaplains Henry J. Made (1974–78) expected command and staff chaplains to be willing to recycle back into base ministry, usually as ISCs. Since then the Chiefs have strongly supported that policy, including current Chief of Chaplains John P. McDonough (1988–).

Among stresses and strains that sharpened a clear understanding of the spirit and nature of the chaplaincy, several stand out. In the Seventies Chief of Chaplains Meade and the other service Chiefs of Chaplains beat back demands by some congressmen and others to excise what they called a blasphemous hymn from the *Book of Worship*. They argued successfully that such attempted censorship was an affront to the American religious community and the chaplaincy it provided. In the same decade the Chief's Office defended chaplain slots against proposed cuts by congressional staffers seeking to reduce the number of military "counselors." Counseling is a religious function for AF chaplains, the Office argued, and it would not accept an increase in manpower for some other kind of "counseling" if offered.

The move from the AAF chaplaincy to the USAF chaplaincy did not occur without drama and some intrigue. But the purpose of the chaplaincy was clear throughout: to enable chaplains to function as pastors, priests and rabbis as they met the religious needs of personnel around the world.

Two important events coincided as the air chaplaincy came into its own: the tremendous world-wide opportunity for ministry in WW II, and the single-minded zeal of air leaders to create an independent Air Force. Chaplain leaders kept their eyes fixed on the single goal of establishing a chaplaincy that fostered a spirit of cooperation among professionals to meet the religious needs of all people. Forged in the crucible of war and routed into institutional channels by independent-thinking commanders open to new ways, that spirit of the chaplaincy persists. It is the reason why this lively experiment lives on.

¹⁰Chief's Panel.

II. Moorings in America's Faith Groups

Decked out in pluralistic splendor, America's faith groups embody the First Amendment's guarantee of religious freedom. They flourish because in the United States free exercise is not a futile exercise. Since the chaplaincy is designed to facilitate that religious freedom in the Air Force, it is a complex entity. It functions in a rigid organizational structure but is deeply affected by the changing currents of religious belief that course through American society.

The chaplaincy's mooring in America's faith groups is evident in three major areas. These groups endorse their clergy to serve as AF chaplains. Second, chaplains create changing programs to meet the religious needs of AF people. And third, the religious community provides the impulse for chaplain professional growth and pastoral resources for their ministry.

None of these areas mirrors its WW II pattern today. Continuity and change show how the AF chaplaincy developed over fifty years.

A. Endorsing Faith Groups, Pluralism, and Free Exercise

While the endorsement of clergy as chaplains occupied center stage in the relationship, the chaplaincy had many different relations with the religious community over half a century. A growing sense of pluralism in the late Seventies and Eighties, the ramifications of a court challenge to the Army chaplaincy, accommodating religious practices in the Air Force, and the First Amendment's importance for chaplain mission—these and other factors entered the picture.

1. Relations with Faith Groups

Endorsement of Chaplains

We have reviewed some early practices in faith group endorsements for chaplains, as well as the emergence of denominational agencies when speed was required during WW II. By current standards early endorsements were haphazard. Chief of Chaplains Taylor was merely required to submit a letter from a local organization to get a Reserve commission in 1939 prior to active duty in 1940. He was of the opinion that clear organization of endorsing agencies occurred after the war.¹¹ According to Chaplain Carpenter ninety-three endorsing groups were represented in the WW II chaplaincy, though the number seems high. Ezra Taft Benson's son was the first Latter-day Saint chaplain, serving three years at Lackland in the Fifties.¹²

¹¹Interview of Chaplain, Major General, Robert P. Taylor by Chaplain, Colonel, James M. Thurman, October 13, 1986 (hereafter cited as Taylor Interview).

¹²Carpenter Interview; see Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, pp. 215–17, for the 73 groups with chaplains on duty in the Army in 1945. Jorgensen (II, 394) lists 24 Protestant groups with memberships over 200,000 (including Eastern Orthodox) and 26 groups under 200,000 with chaplains on active duty in 1960, as well as the Roman Catholic Church and Jewish groups.

In the 50's the Chief's Office distributed chaplain quotas to faith groups on the basis of statistics in the *Yearbook of American Churches*, using a 21% correction for groups that included baptized and minor members in their total number of adherents. After 1950 there was agitation for separate recognition of the Eastern Orthodox as a fourth major faith group. Until then most of these personnel attended general Protestant or Episcopal services. The first Eastern Orthodox chaplain was appointed 1953; in the second half of the 60's about six were serving.¹³

Over 50 faith groups had chaplains on active duty in 1960, and reportedly some thirty Roman Catholic bishops had served as military chaplains by then. Chief of Chaplains Taylor instituted a revised system of ecclesiastical apportionment in 1963 that opened the way for more smaller denominations with chaplains on active duty. He also invited endorsing agencies to nominate individuals to serve as consultant to his Office, an arrangement that lasted during the Sixties.

With the Vietnam War some clergy and civilian groups launched major attacks on clergypersons serving in the chaplaincy. Some demanded the "civilianization" of the chaplaincy. In 1963 the American Civil Liberties Union informed the Chief of Chaplains that it was commencing a thorough study of the use of tax money to support the chaplaincy; the Armed Forces Chaplains Board (AFCB) and other DOD agencies provided information and responses to the inquiry. At root the responses rested on the free exercise clause of the First Amendment.

The size of faith groups was mirrored to some degree in the number of chaplains on active duty. By the end of 1976 thirty-two Protestant faith groups with membership over 159,000 endorsed 535 chaplains, while thirty-three smaller groups had 33 chaplains on active duty. The number of faith groups recognized by the AFCB climbed from 110 in 1975 to over 200 in 1989 (well over 90% were Protestant groups); the number of endorsing faith groups with AF chaplains on active duty increased from 66 in 1983 to 85 in 1988. In 1983, 23 of the 856 AF chaplains were the only representatives from their groups. In 1988 one-half of the chaplains came from six faith groups while the other half came from 79 groups; over 700 of the 840 chaplains on duty came from 27 endorsing faith groups.

In the 80's for the first time the AFCB specifically referred to free exercise and the First Amendment in its criteria for endorsing faith groups and clergy endorsed as chaplains. By the mid-Eighties the AF chaplaincy clearly moved away from allotting quotas to faith groups on the basis of the nation's religious demographics alone. In keeping with an emphasis on religious freedom for personnel in uniform, Chief of Chaplains Barstad insisted that another important factor in allotting slots were the religious needs of the Air Force as determined by the Chief of Chaplains. Another element was the religious demographics of AF personnel. The AF also required clergy to have at least two years of faith-group approved pastoral

¹³Jorgensen's "Chaplain Denominational Analysis—1960" included "Eastern Orthodox (Russian and Greek)" under Protestant groups (II, 394).

experience before entering active duty. In contrast with the Army and Navy, the AF asked faith groups to nominate a single candidate for an active duty slot, not several.

Religious “Missions” and Issues in the Seventies and Eighties

During the postwar revival of religion in late 40's and 50's, civilian clergy conducted numerous “missions” and Torah convocations on air bases. The Chief's Office first issued the invitations directly to civilian clergy but after 1955 the endorsers provided nominations. Chaplain Carpenter sent clergy on 38 missions in the U.S. in the winter of 1947–48. A “mission band” of two Protestant and two Catholic chaplains was also formed; one Catholic pair covered every major overseas base in 65 missions in two years, conducting 389 missions between 1949 and 1958. This program continued until 1960 after which the Chief's Office dispatched occasional missionaries, such as the 20 Protestant and 18 Roman Catholic clergy who held missions in 22 countries in 1966. Regulations required a local mission or Torah convocation each year, and most bases dedicated five days to a mission. Many of the Protestant missions were strongly evangelistic in tone. Invited speakers included Billy Graham at Lowry AFB in 1953 and Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson at Lackland. Chief of Chaplains Terry sent out teams of lay leaders to overseas bases in 1970 as part of a program called “Lay Witness,” but this program had a different character than the preaching missions.¹⁴

The Vietnam War strained relations between the chaplaincy and some faith groups that opposed U.S. participation. Probably because opposition to the war came as a surprise to chaplain leaders—it had little precedence in WW II or the Korean conflict—the Chief's Office showed a new sensitivity in the Seventies to the chaplaincy's dependence on America's faith groups and the value of close relations with them. The Office nurtured relations with endorsing agencies, stressing the chaplain's role as pastor, priest or rabbi even in an unpopular war. Chief of Chaplains Meade showed a remarkable ability to rely on and refer to these faith groups at pivotal times in asserting the centrality of the chaplain's pastoral work. Efforts to build and maintain good relations continued in the Eighties, including regular visits to the offices of endorsing faith groups. The Chief's Office made a major push in the mid-Seventies to visit Black denominations and seminaries to recruit clergy, and endorsing officials visited numerous CONUS and overseas bases at their own expense in the Seventies and Eighties.

In the 80's the Chief's Office was careful not to become a whipping boy for nuclear issues. It took strong steps to keep chaplains informed of the positions of faith groups on nuclear arms and related issues, insisted that there was no “AF chaplaincy” position on these issues since the chaplaincy as such had no theology, and it encouraged chaplains to keep commanders

¹⁴See Jorgensen, Vol. II, 380–83, for the names and affiliations of civilian clergy involved in preaching missions and convocations, Spiritual Life Conferences, overseas chaplain retreats, and special consultants.

informed on faith group positions. Chief of Chaplains John A. Collins (1982–85) demonstrated intentionality in approaching these questions; he insisted that the chaplaincy would not be controlled by any one faith group's position but would provide full information on all positions. Chaplain Collins traveled widely with Secretary of the Air Force Verne Orr, showing faith groups and commanders how the Secretary valued the chaplains's work.¹⁵

Catholic Shortage

Individual faith groups sometimes had trouble providing enough chaplains. During the Korean War Jewish groups came close to "drafting" rabbis. The Jewish Welfare Board (JWB) subsidized the wages of new lieutenants to approximate a rabbi's salary at his first synagogue.

But the Roman Catholic Church faced the greatest difficulty for two reasons: the general shortage of priests, and the need to secure the release of priests by local bishops or superiors. During WW II some Catholic shortage developed, and during and after the Korean War the shortfall rose from 10 to almost 150 priests in 1954, diminishing somewhat by 1960. Chief of Chaplains Finnegan worked as Deputy and Chief to educate bishops about the need "for priests taking care of their souls." At AF Chaplain Fund expense, each year he sent ten to twelve bishops on tours of four bases each to conduct confirmations and see the situation firsthand; commanders held banquets for the bishops to show their appreciation. The effort paid off. Between 1958 and 1960 the number of priests climbed nearly 10% to around 300.¹⁶

The battle for priests continued into the Seventies and intensified in the Eighties. From about fifteen short in the mid-70's the number climbed into the twenties, thirties and forties, finally reaching 66 in FY 1986 before dropping back to 35 in FY 1989. In the process the percentage of Catholic chaplains in the AF chaplaincy fell from 31% in FY 1975 to 26% in FY 1989. A full-time chaplain recruiter was attached to the Chief's Office in May 1985, and this move helped maintain the status quo and reverse the trend.

2. Pluralism and Free Exercise

Free exercise and the religious pluralism it produced are the two poles of America's religious ellipse. The AF chaplaincy has been deeply involved with both poles.

The chaplaincy incorporated and reacted to a variety of developments on the religious scene. In early year steps were taken to ensure the neutral

¹⁵Chief's Panel.

¹⁶Interview of Chaplain, Major General, Terence P. Finnegan by Chaplain, Colonel, James M. Thurman, October 5, 1987 (hereafter cited as Finnegan Interview). Chaplain Finnegan said that when he started as Deputy there were 220 Catholic chaplains and 386 when he retired. The figures are unverified but especially the latter seems high since only 1,100 chaplains were on duty in 1964.

status of religious facilities and to offer ministry to all individuals, but the Protestant mainline majority in America's faith community made an impact nonetheless. In the late Seventies and especially the Eighties a strong current of pluralism emerged, causing uneasiness in some quarters. Concurrently a new sense of the importance of free exercise appeared, and with it renewed commitment to meet all religious needs. DOD-wide efforts to accommodate religious practices were part of this surge.

Pluralism

In 1951 Chief of Chaplains Carpenter was the object of a congressional inquiry into the establishment of an Armed Forces religious service for all denominations. Some questioned what they called a continued and consistent emphasis "upon the general Protestant as over against the denominational service." Columnist Drew Pearson's column took up the complaint in an article entitled "One Church for Protestant GI's?" In short order the AFCEB received twelve congressional inquiries.

The basic chaplain regulation in 1952 provided that chaplains would provide general religious services as needed and have the right "to conduct religious services and ceremonies according to the practices of their specific faith or denomination." A 1954 revision strengthened the provision for general religious services by requiring services "for minority groups such as Christian Scientists, Latter-day Saints, and liturgical churches not served by a chaplain of their faith." In 1954 the regulation required a minimum of one monthly service for minority groups such as Christian Scientists and Latter-day Saints and liturgical churches if a certified leader conducted the service.

In 1953 the Chief's Office stated, "When a Protestant Air Force chaplain believes that he cannot in conscience conduct a general[ly] acceptable Protestant service he should request release from the Air Force Chaplaincy." It strengthened the policy in 1959 when it advised that if a Protestant chaplain consistently refused to conduct a general Protestant service, "the appropriate commander will initiate necessary action for the chaplain's release from active duty."

Fears of a Protestant super-church may have been fed in part by requirements in monthly chaplain reports. From 1952 chaplains were required to prepare and forward individual card records for each funeral, marriage, and baptism conducted. This requirement was finally terminated in 1959 (the Navy ended the practice in 1952), and quarterly reports began in 1956. In the Fifties Chief of Chaplains Carpenter often warned that local congregations could not be established on Air Force bases, a warning against a military church repeated often in subsequent years.

Spiritual Life Conferences for Protestants began on a regional basis in 1954, and Catholics were urged to attend other retreats. Catholic Lay Leadership workshops were created during the tenure of Chief of Chaplains Edwin R. Chess (1966-70).

Until 1968 the main chaplain regulation referred to three major faith groups, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish. A revision of AFR 265-1 deleted the category of "faiths" as distinguished from "denominations," apparently to emphasize that all denominations and denominational needs would be rec-

ognized and met. The change reflected an increase in the influence of Orthodox churches. General Protestant services and Catholic masses were to be held on Sunday between 0900 and 1200 hours, and now denominational services as well. During the early 60's special permission was required, sometimes from the Chief's Office, to conduct denominational services in these hours. This revision was a shift toward decentralization that moved such decisions to the local level.

In the Eighties some Protestant chaplains and chapel-goers were disturbed by ramifications of increasing pluralism, especially among Protestant chaplains. In some cases the team ministry approach on base was fragmented, a plethora of non-chaplain led or supervised worship services appeared, discussion arose about what constituted a "general" Protestant worship service, and efforts were made to discern how Gospel services and their religious education programs fit into the base chapel program, among many items. As part of his effort to decentralize leadership in the chaplaincy, Chief of Chaplains Collins appointed command chaplains to a Task Force on Pluralism to discuss issues and propose solutions. The proposals were taken to the USAF Chaplain Conference for consideration by the Installation Staff Chaplains (ISCs). Interlocking with the work of other task forces, the effort resulted in some important moves, including the following: (a) AF chaplains needed two years of pastoral experience for active duty; (b) all funds collected at denominational services were carefully monitored and reported; (c) ISCs trained new chaplains in team ministry and exercised tightened quality control at the point of indefinite reserve status; (d) the religious needs of the Air Force became a major factor in allotting active duty slots; and (e) a prime-time general Protestant service was held each Sunday morning, with the ISC monitoring all services on a base.

In 1948 the basic regulation restricted chapels to religious use and in 1952 chapels were designated by number. A "neutral altar" included flower vases, candlesticks, and the Bible opened to the Hebrew Scripture, but non-neutral status was a recurring inspection finding. No permanent religious symbols peculiar to any group were permitted inside or outside of religious facilities. In the Seventies the Chief's Office determined that chapels would not be designated for single faith group use. In the Eighties the "neutral" altar was re-defined to include "no appointments other than a white linen or flaxen altar cover with no denominational or faith group symbols." In addition to Christian and Jewish groups, Bahai, Buddhist and Islamic groups worshipped in AF chapels in the Seventies and Eighties, among others.

Free Exercise

For doubters, the ministry of several thousand AAF chaplains in WW II showed that the chaplaincy could operate as facilitator of free exercise without establishment. As in subsequent periods of war and peace, chaplains served people in all kinds of organizations around over the world, enabling them to practice religion freely.

In the late Seventies a federal court case (Katcoff & Wieder v. John O. Marsh, Jr., Secretary of the Army, *et. al.* challenged the constitutionality of the Army's chaplain program. The case rocked the AF chaplaincy since it

challenged the chaplaincy's *raison d'être*. The federal district court decision in 1980 and the appellate decision in 1985 upheld the chaplaincy as constitutional. The district judge described the Army chaplaincy program as "a constitutionally permissible means to a constitutionally mandated end."¹⁷

A heightened sense of the First Amendment's importance coursed through the AF chaplaincy as the decisions' ramifications became clear. The Amendment's provision for free exercise was the basic premise of a report on the faith composition of the military chaplaincies prepared by DOD in 1987 at the request of Congress. DOD directives governing faith group endorsers and their applicants more carefully delineated the responsibility to provide for free exercise, especially in 1984 and 1988. The basic AF chaplain regulation specifically referred to free exercise in a 1986 revision. At the USAF Chaplains Conference in the fall of 1989 Chief of Chaplains McDonough invited George Gallup, Jr., of Gallup Polls to describe the current American religious scene as applicable to AF people; the conference emphasized the chaplain's responsibility to ensure free exercise in all functions.

At an early date AF chaplains also helped personnel in their search for religious accommodation. These efforts included regulatory protection of worship opportunities, helping personnel secure exemption from vaccinations, validating request of Jewish and Islamic personnel for Basic Allowance for Subsistence, assisting Seventh Day Adventists in observing their Sabbath, and a host of other actions. Some might include in this category the role of chaplains in processing conscientious objectors.

In the Eighties Congress took great interest in the area of religious accommodation, demanding a DOD study of accommodation of religious practices in 1984. The resulting AF regulation on accommodation clarified procedures and delegated decision-making to the lowest level. Chaplains were involved in validating the requests of applicants. Approval of a wicca's (witch's) request to celebrate her faith's eight holidays generated heated mail for the Office of the Chief of Chaplains in 1989.

In 1987 congressional legislation allowed the wearing of "an item of religious apparel while wearing the uniform of the member's armed force," and AF regulations subsequently defined the conditions for such wearing. A Supreme Court decision favoring AF control of the wearing of a yarmulke prompted the legislation, but it covered other items as well.

The basic chaplain regulation was revised several times to keep in step with this emphasis. In 1986 it allowed chaplains to wear "religious accouterments" with the uniform when "performing worship and practices distinct to their faith groups." A revision in 1987 prohibited commanders from directing chaplains "or other military personnel to conduct or take part in liturgical rites or joint services that conflict with their religious beliefs."

B. Chapel Programs and Models of Ministry

Chapel programs and chaplain models of ministry also showed the impact of developments in the American religious community, the chaplaincy's most

¹⁷Katcoff & Wieder v. U.S. Army *et al.* (1984), p. 3.

important support group in addition to the AF it served. As religious forces in the U.S. moved away from a "Protestant establishment" and centralized denominational influence waned, the AF chaplaincy distanced itself from the earlier Six Point Program in favor of local programming based on needs assessment. This major shift coincided with an emphasis on decentralization in the AF in the late Sixties and subsequent decades. Nonetheless, despite some changes two basic models of ministry persisted throughout: (1) a "parish model" that emphasized the kind of pastoral ministry found in churches and synagogues, and (2) an "institutional" model that molded ministry to the specific environment of the Air Force.

1. Chapel Programming

Six Point Program

As early as November 1948 Chief of Chaplains Carpenter announced the new AF chaplain program. Its general provisions were published in the basic chaplain regulation the next month. The Chief's Office put the Six Point program into effect in 1950–51. Regulations provided guidance, as did a lengthy Chaplain Manual and monthly issues of the *Chaplain Newsletter*. (The first point was subdivided into worship and pastoral care.) The Six Points illuminate the chaplain's ministry during the first twenty years of the chaplaincy. For some who were concerned about a centrally-controlled program in the chaplaincy, the Six Point program probably raised the flash point.

Worship: In 1954 the average AF person attended 12.4 worship services a year. Showing the impact of a larger Air Force and the postwar religious revival, in 1960 attendance at services conducted by chaplains totalled 15M (million), plus another 2M at worship services conducted by civilian clergy, versus about 1M total in 1952. In the first quarter of FY 1967 religious services at chapels were attended by 2.9M people, for an estimated annual attendance that year of 11M. The preaching missions described above were part of the emphasis on worship. But some things change little. In 1948 the Chaplain School used these phrases to catalog speech faults in preaching: "the oratorical voice; the sanctimous voice; the singsong voice; the tired, bored voice; the let's-get-it-over-with voice."

Pastoral Care: Pastoral care involved hospital ministry and pastoral visitation, especially to confinement and work areas, sites, and dependent housing. Pastoral visitation was specially emphasized in 1959–60. A change in regulation in 1954 prevented chaplains from delivering death notices, but they could accompany personnel in the task; this changed a policy in force from WW II. Compulsory incoming interviews for all personnel began after 1948; the requirement was cancelled in 1975. Specific denominational affiliation (versus P, C, J) were placed on ID tags after 1956, and ID cards were similarly marked after 1958.

Religious and Moral Education: By 1954 the Air Force included over 900,000 dependents, with 470,000 children. Large religious education (RE) programs were created to serve them. In 1960 average weekly RE attendance was 110,000. This area also included chapel organizations for

men, women, and youth. Retreats for lay people, mostly single men and women, began in 1947–48. This program later became the Spiritual Life Conferences, Christian Encounter Conferences [1972], and Christian Leadership Conferences, emphasizing parish leadership training. Other kinds of retreats were organized as well for youth, men, and women.

Character Guidance began as a compulsory program in the Army and Air Force in 1948. Chaplains participated from the start just as they had in earlier compulsory VD lectures. This program was seen as an answer to moral weakness and the failure of some personnel taken prisoner in the Korean War; it was designed to counter what was called moral flabbiness and lack of knowledge about democracy, and to help individuals develop a code of personal conduct. The evolving Cold War also played a role. Chaplains lectured monthly to all personnel between 1948 and 1958. In the Fall of 1957 the Dynamics of Moral Leadership lecture program was launched as a follow-on and chaplains lectured quarterly to three groups (officers through lieutenant colonel, non-commissioned officers, and other enlisted personnel). The Chief's Office provided materials for both programs. In 1960 the program was renamed Moral Leadership Training. Though attendance was mandatory, few commands or bases reported more than 80% attendance. The Moral Leadership program was cancelled in 1966 except for personnel in basic training, technical schools, and officer candidate school. Chaplain involvement in Boy and Girl Scout programs was described as molding the character of dependent youth.

Counseling: From the start the Chief's office stressed that counseling included privileged communication since chaplains were pastoral counselors. Premarital counseling was compulsory for the lower enlisted grades. The highest number of counseling cases involved marital problems.

Humanitarian Services: Humanitarian service was assisting in time of need, on and off base. Collections were gathered for European countries after the war but the effort was more difficult for Japan. During the Korean conflict humanitarian efforts focused on orphanages and needy children. Other areas of concern were the aged, holiday projects, bonding with missionaries in foreign nations, and restoring churches and synagogues.

Cultural Activities: This area sought to cultivate the relation between religion and the arts in order to enrich life and nurture spirituality. It included choirs and contests for them, drama and film, books and art, and sightseeing tours. The first AF-wide choir contest occurred in 1955.

Public Relations: Public relations cultivated goodwill for chaplains in military and civilian communities. Internally this activity included newsletters and award certificates. It also extended to community relations (radio, television, newspapers, clergy days); on the international scene it included rebuilding community relations and relations with civilian clergy, and NATO chaplains conferences.

Programming after the Six Points

With the onslaught of the Vietnam War, tremendous social upheaval in American society, and major changes in religious faith groups (including the

impact of Vatican II), the Six Point program entered a devolutionary period in the mid-Sixties. It seemed to have run its course, forced to make way for programming with more local initiative and control. The Chief of Chaplain's annual emphasis was used to disassemble the structure. In the Seventies and Eighties the driving force for chaplain programs on AF bases were local need assessments, emphasis on team ministry and the ISC as team leader, and a strong impetus toward decentralization in leadership and control. The Chief's Office moved away from autocracy and centralized programs, which may have been necessary in the early stages of the AF chaplaincy to provide a sense of identity and unity.

Vatican II contributed indirectly to change in chapel programming. It influenced the revision of AFR 265-1 in September 1966 when the regulation incorporated its first reference to spiritual renewal as part of the chaplain program. The Council's decrees led to the formation of Catholic parish councils and reinvigorated longstanding Protestant commitment to lay leadership. After Vatican II masses were celebrated in the vernacular, folk masses became popular and commentators appeared in masses. In 1964 the Chief's Office authorized the purchase of portable altars facing the congregation. In 1968 it was possible to hold Sunday mass on Saturday. Protestant services showed a tendency toward more liturgical services, and toward the end of the decade "folk type" services, "country church," and contemporary liturgies also appeared.

The Council also influenced ecumenical interaction between Protestant and Catholic chaplains. Some feared that chaplains would outdistance their churches in ecumenism, as Chief of Chaplains Chess warned senior chaplains in *Chaplain Newsletter* supplement in 1967: While an ecumenical spirit among chaplains of all faiths is greatly desired and encouraged on Air Force installations, we do not want to run ahead of our civilian ecclesiastical leadership. . . . Ecumenical and interfaith Thanksgiving Services and other ecumenical services apparently were first held on a broad basis in the Sixties; a few bases established ecumenical parish councils and pursued other ecumenical activities. Also during the Sixties the charismatic movement began flourishing on bases, and interfaith seders appeared.

In religious education, paid coordinators apparently were first employed in the Sixties since more lay teachers were active in Catholic religious education programs. Earlier the programs depended largely on sisters from adjacent communities. AF-wide weekly attendance in religious education classes in the first half of FY 1968 was about 80,500, and the Bethel Bible Series became available in 1964. Public school officials sometimes resisted the use of public schools on base for religious education.

Also in the 60's the single airman became the focus of much programming. Some felt the airman had been lost in the shuffle of a growing ministry to dependents. Other Air Force emphases were echoed in chapel programming as well including efforts to deal with racial and drug problems and the domestic action program. Local and traveling troupes presented drama in some chapels; religious art programs flourished at some bases, and choirs and choruses continued their faithful work. Nomenclature for Protestant chapel organizations was standardized in 1960: Protestant Men of the

Chapel, Protestant Women of the Chapel, Protestant Youth of the Chapel, and Phi Chi Sigma for WAF. The names of Catholic groups were also standardized.

The Six Point program persisted until 1966 when Chief of Chaplains Chess proposed using a specific emphasis each fiscal year to focus the chaplaincy's resources. This was viewed as a new management technique.

The first of the Chief's annual themes (FY 1967, Single Airman Ministry) provided a focus for chaplain involvement with single airmen in fellowship, worship opportunities, recreation, airmen dinners, humanitarian assistance, work programs, Spiritual Life Conferences, training workshops, retreats, movies, ecumenical dialogues, Bible study, and coffeehouses. Many of these initiatives continued into the 70's and 80's. The FY 1969 theme, Family Life, also found an echo in the next decades of chaplain ministry (conferences, retreats, Cana conferences, courses, family missions, workshops, premarital training, family life materials, and family enrichment).

In the 70's a strong sense of individualism appeared in the charismatic movement, which was often Catholic or ecumenical in scope. Broader social currents affecting chapel communities included the ecological movement; the energy crisis (chaplains reported that in 1974 driving bans and other energy factors impacted programs); world hunger (chapel relief for African drought victims and the Campaign for Human Development); and feminism. WAF became an anachronism, the first female chaplain entered active duty in 1973, the first female lay eucharistic minister was authorized in 1974, and female cadets enrolled in the USAF Academy in 1976.

In the Seventies worship attendance fell as the Air Force diminished in size. Total Protestant worship attendance was 3.5M in 1970 and 2.6M by mid-decade; Catholic attendance dropped from 7M to 4.4M. In the Eighties worship attendance totalled about 6.8M in 1981 and 6.3M in 1985. Most bases offered a variety of services including traditional, contemporary, some Gospel type, liturgical and general Protestant; the general Protestant service was diluted by this variety of other services but held its own. Folk and contemporary services and masses became popular on many bases, but not all chaplains felt comfortable conducting them. Lay leader participation increased in the Seventies, first in masses and then in Protestant services. Gospel services with heavy Black participation began on many bases especially in 1974 (some earlier), and Sunday evening "country church" services occurred more widely. Denominational services were conducted at some bases, especially by liturgically oriented Protestant chaplains, and Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Jewish faith group services occurred regularly. Training for Jewish lay leaders was renewed in the 70's, especially in SAC and PACAF, and TAC took the lead in the 80's. These lay leaders conducted services in the absence of a rabbi.

Choirs were a staple of chapel programs and in the Seventies a large number of Gospel choirs sprang up. Youth, teen, folk, Orthodox, ecumenical and handbell choirs also took on greater importance, and various Catholic choirs enlivened worship. Ecumenical choir workshops and conferences became popular, but AF-wide choir contests were cancelled after 1970.

There was little let-up in choir activity in the Eighties.

The number of ecumenical and interfaith activities increased dramatically during the Seventies. As in the Eighties, most were social or humanitarian activities, but many ecumenical and interfaith services (including seders) and ecumenical RE activities occurred. Chapel organizations for adults met difficulty in the 70's and 80's due to a working spouses, the siphoning of talented leadership into parish councils, and many other religious activities offered by chapels.

In the Seventies and Eighties witnessing and evangelistic efforts were local programs. Revivals were held on some bases, chapel people participated in local revivals, and lay witnessing programs were frequent. The Navigators and Officers Christian Fellowship conducted programs for single airmen and others at some bases. The Chief's Office announced support for the KEY '73 year of evangelism, but chaplain leaders soon recognized that Jewish personnel were uneasy with the potential for proselytizing and clarified their initial support.

Average weekly religious education attendance dropped from over 135,000 in 1970 to 51,000 in 1979, partly because the AF was smaller and the force older. In the mid-Eighties average weekly RE attendance hovered around 60,000. Ecumenical RE opportunities for adults became popular. Paid RE coordinators offered teacher training (sometimes ecumenical) and performing administrative tasks. RE conferences for chaplains and coordinators from base clusters started in the Seventies and in the Eighties conferences covered larger geographical areas.

In the 70's chaplain counseling concerned with drugs reached its high in 1975 while alcohol-related cases increased each year during the decade. Like many other statistics from the 70's, the number of chaplain counseling cases fell from nearly 330,000 in 1970 to about 250,000 in 1979. That year the Supreme Court held that profoundly held moral and ethical convictions could serve as a basis for a claim to conscientious objection. Chaplains were involved in about 4,500 conscientious objection counseling cases in 1970 versus 813 in 1979. In 1980 the Chief's Office clarified that the medical corps was the office of primary responsibility for sexual dysfunctional therapy, not chaplains. Total chaplain counseling cases numbered about 260,000 in 1982, 230,000 in 1985, and 225,000 in 1988.

Late in 1971 the Air Force created a Social Actions agency to deal with social and personal problems such as racial prejudice, equal opportunity, human relations, alcoholism, drugs, child and sexual abuse. AF chaplains played a pivotal role in training early agency members. While chaplains initially had difficulty relating to the new agency, the relationship matured. At one point Chief of Chaplains Terry turned back an initiative to transfer the program to the Chaplain Service. The program resulted in heavier chaplain training in chemical dependency.

After careful study the Moral Leadership program was heavily revised in 1972. The new program (Adult Value Education, 1974) stressed dialogue over lecture and was mandatory only in Air Training Command. About 75,000 persons entering the Air Force participated annually. ATC chaplains spent many hours in the program, which became compulsory at

the AF Academy in 1977, and some other commanders also required it. After the Supreme Court's 1973 decision on pornography, the "Memorandum; Protection of Moral Standards and Guidelines for Screening Objectionable Literature" that had long been appended to the chaplain regulation was unobtrusively dropped early in 1974.

During the closing years of the Vietnam War chaplains emphasized concern for Prisoners of War and Missing in Action, conducted burials at Arlington National Cemetery and elsewhere, rendered aid to Vietnamese refugees at Guam, Wake Island and Hawaii, and aided chapels and bases in resettling Indochinese refugees. Among other major humanitarian efforts in the Sixties, Seventies and Eighties were programs for single airmen and young married couples, emergency funds, disaster relief (e.g., Alaskan earthquake in 1964 and Hurricane Camille in 1969), and civic and domestic action. Protestant and Catholic men's organizations spearheaded humanitarian efforts at many bases in Southeast Asia.

The mass suicide in Guyana late in 1978 brought hundreds of bodies to Dover AFB where chaplains ministered to relatives. Chaplains conducted services for the hostages taken in Iran, TAC chapels conducted memorial services for servicemen killed in an attempted rescue, and Chief of Chaplains Richard Carr (1978–82) participated in the National Memorial Service at Arlington. After their release the hostages received pastoral care in Wiesbaden, Germany. Cuban refugees flooded Eglin AFB in 1980, and chaplains provided religious ministrations.

Ministry to families was a constant theme, receiving heavy emphasis from Chief of Chaplains Carr in the late Seventies and early Eighties. His work contributed to the formation of Family Service Centers at many bases. The Chief's Office sponsored research of AF marriage and family life and provided chaplains with published ministry resources entitled *Families in Blue*. Marriage enrichment retreats, family growth, communication and parenting classes, and special ministry for single parents became common in the Seventies and Eighties. New programs appeared for persons being divorced or recently divorced. Some chaplains knew the pain of divorce firsthand since in the Seventies the phenomenon became more widespread in the chaplaincy. The Air Force eliminated compulsory premarital counseling for enlisted airmen in 1973 though commanders could still require it.

Needs assessment was an important instrument for delineating the parameters of a local chapel program. Several needs assessment tools were provided, and chaplain inspectors as well as staff assistance visits focused on how well the chapel team assessed and met local needs. Team ministry was an important factor in this new decentralized view of chaplain programs. The plan was for the ISC to coordinate the talents of all chaplains into a coherent ministry that met the needs of the entire AF community.

2. Models of Ministry

Throughout its history the AF chaplaincy oscillated between two primary models of ministry or two chaplain role perceptions: (1) the chaplain as representative or witness of God, (2) who serves in the institutional Air Force.

Both strains were apparent in the Six Point program. In efforts to catch up with problems facing the Air Force and recent developments in the social sciences, early in the Seventies more emphasis fell on the chaplain as bridge-builder and humanizer within the Air Force (2 above). At other times the mission of “bringing God to man (and woman) and man (and woman) to God” was emphasized (1 above). This resulted in strong emphasis on such typical pastoral functions as preaching, teaching, pastoral counseling, and conducting services. Early in the Seventies “pastoral” and “skill-delivering” chaplains openly disagreed about the chaplain’s function. The accent on team ministry partly evolved to control conflict and enable chaplains to use their strengths. In the Eighties it was popular to speak of the “parish model” and “institutional model” of doing ministry. Family ministry, including enrichment, counseling, and other efforts, was a focus that incorporated both strains.

Parish Model

The parish model of ministry showed itself in the chaplain’s pastoral functions, including conducting services, preaching, teaching, pastoral counseling and visitation, and many other tasks that occupy civilian parish clergy. Naturally the form and content of this model did not remain exactly the same over forty years, as our discussion of the Six Point program and follow-on programming shows. But the fundamental themes endured because they are integral to the vocation of clergy. By nature and design AF bases favored this model of ministry.

One facet of the parish model that changed was the growing appreciation of chaplains for ecumenical cooperation in worship services, teaching programs, and other activities. Many ecumenical chapel newsletters appeared already in the second half of the Sixties. For many chaplains, as Chief of Chaplains Meade later recounted, ecumenism began on a human level as chaplains first began to respect other members of the chapel team, then moved on to respect what they proclaimed in their parish ministry.¹⁸

Institutional Model

The institutional model of ministry or role perception made ministry in the AF different from a parish in Chicago or a church in Tennessee. Chaplains were military officers serving military personnel and dependents in all kinds of locations and in every conceivable situation. They needed to make themselves known so that people would use them to freely exercise their religion. Institutional ministry also included ministering in an institution with very specific religious needs, and serving as the commander’s advisor on morals and morale. Chief of Chaplains Barstad often emphasized in the Eighties the need for chaplains to impact the institution by not ignoring openings for service in the broader context.

Not all chaplains gave equal emphasis to this model of ministry. Chaplain leaders persisted in efforts to provide illumination. Commanders

¹⁸Chiefs’ Panel.

were interested in seeing chaplains with their troops, and some attributed more importance to this form of ministry than traditional pastoral functions. Typical chapel programs touched perhaps 20% of the base population, but institutional ministry programs held the promise of much wider impact.

In the late 60's and 70's chaplains were deeply involved in programs to fight drug and alcohol addiction and racial discrimination. An unfortunate racial incident at Travis AFB in 1971 and at several bases in Southeast Asia showed the persistent power of prejudice. One of the earliest Martin Luther King, Jr. services was held at Travis in January 1971. This annual service gained acceptance during the Seventies and was widely observed in the Eighties, but the observance created tension at some bases. In USAFE in the early Seventies each base was required to initiate a Gospel Choir and Gospel service. Special ministry for Hispanics also became more commonly accepted in the later Seventies and Eighties, and chaplains organized human relations and affirmative action programs and contributed their expertise to Social Actions programs.

Other forms of "institutional ministry" (not strictly defined) were hospital and confinement ministry and the "ministry of presence." Ministry of presence slowly began to come into its own in the Seventies. One AF-level inspection report noted that this "is still a quicksand area—lots of sinking, very little swimming—and the subject of much controversy." Nearly half of 45 bases inspected in 1974 had no program for regular contacts at duty stations. In the Seventies and Eighties staff chaplains strongly emphasized the ministry of presence, and chapel teams often scheduled regular visits to all work centers, including flightlines. But some chaplains viewed it as a kind of back-slapping, much less important than typical parish ministry. In 1989 the Chief's Office noted that ministry of presence can be seen as making oneself available to all in their search to exercise religious freedom.

Readiness training received new organizational impetus early in the Eighties with the formation of a readiness division in the Chief's Office. This area of chaplain ministry grew in importance due largely to Chief of Chaplain Carr's insistence on the chapel team's involvement in readiness exercises and mobility training. Both became standard fare for chaplains by the end of the decade, although already in the mid-Seventies the TAC Chaplain initiated mobility training for some. This specialized ministry of presence paved the way for a variety of pastoral functions. Chaplain ministry in the Grenada operation validated the need for readiness.

Another form of institutional ministry was chaplain participation, often as project officers, in annual National Prayer Breakfasts. Military units did not ordinarily participate in the Presidential Prayer Breakfast (1953) until January 1969. In the 70's and 80's this annual event brought together thousands of people with no other connection with chapels. The opportunity for chaplains to stress the nation's need to rely on God and rectify its wrongs was not lost.

Some viewed ministry to retirees as a form of the institutional model. Others questioned why retirees should request ministry and participate in chapel activities when staffs were already overburdened. Early in the 70's an

effort was made to use ID cards to control retiree use of chapel facilities, but the policy was soon reversed in favor of local decisions.

C. Professional Growth and Pastoral Resources

Chaplaincy is on loan from their faith groups. Throughout its history the AF chaplaincy has taken responsibility for the professional growth of chaplains since they cannot easily join civilian colleagues in this pursuit. Its continuing education philosophy emphasized frequent short courses rather than infrequent, long courses. In the Seventies and Eighties about a third of all chaplains participated in a continuing education event each year. Equally important were pastoral resources provided on a regular basis.

1. Chaplains School

In addition to a thirty-day training period at the Army Chaplain School, located for a time during WW II at Harvard University and later Ft. Devens, Massachusetts and Ft. Oglethorpe, Georgia, AAF chaplains also attended a two-week training course at Lackland Field in 1944. The course oriented them to the AAF and emphasized counseling, and over 1,000 chaplains attended 22 sessions.¹⁹ Air Chaplain Carpenter met all AAF students at the Chaplain School and eventually (1945) AAF chaplains became faculty members. In 1950 he proposed to the AFMPS a unified chaplain school for the three services under Army administration; the Under Secretary of the Navy disapproved the plan. On July 1, 1953 the USAF Chaplain Course was established at Lackland; over 500 attended by June 1957, and judge advocates reported for training from 1958 to 1965. Additional courses were soon added, including a staff chaplain course.

The USAF Chaplain School was officially established as a named activity on June 1, 1960, but it remained under the Officer Military Schools and the Officer Training School (1962). In 1965 it was designated as a separate unit. Under Chief of Chaplains Taylor it moved from Lackland to Air University at Maxwell AFB on July 1, 1966; his experiences at Maxwell convinced him the School belonged there. The Officer's Basic Military Course officially became the Air Force Chaplain School and course offerings were broadened.

In the 70's the School's instructional philosophy favored participatory learning over lecture. Major curricular revisions in the early 70's emphasized team ministry, and other revisions occurred at mid-decade and near its end. The first Senior Installation Chaplain Course (later Installation Staff Chaplain Course) met in 1976. There were major studies to unify the three service chaplain schools in 1971-72 and 1974, and pressure to consolidate intensified in 1975-76.

In the 70's and 80's the School became an important place to experience pluralism and nurture ecumenical and interfaith respect. The curriculum included a course for chaplain candidates, an orientation course for new active duty chaplains, and career, advanced, and ISC courses.

¹⁹See Honeywell, p. 250.

2. Continuing Education Philosophy and Courses

Short Courses

Continuing education courses for chaplains began as early as 1947 with a USAFE course for hospital chaplains and regional conferences for Casualty Assistance training in 1947–48. Special courses at the chaplain school covered personal counseling and religious education (1948). Training conferences in religious education also occurred in other regions. Two early professional offerings were eleven-day courses in marriage and family life (1949) for Catholics at Catholic University and for Protestants at the Menninger Clinic, and other counseling courses for Catholics (1954). In 1956 one-month marriage counseling courses were inaugurated at Catholic University and the Hogg Foundation. From 1956 to 1967 about 500 Protestant chaplains enrolled in twenty-one courses at the Hogg Foundation while 250 priests took courses at Catholic University. In the fall of 1967 training in counseling shifted to such areas as drugs, conscientious objection, and race, and clinical pastoral education (CPE) for hospital ministry.

Professional Development Conferences began in 1963. They were later called Career Development Institutes (CDIs) and Chaplain Professional Continuing Education courses (CPCEs). Air Force Institute of Technology (AFIT) funded the short courses. The first ecumenical workshop occurred in 1970, and ecumenical CDIs began in 1972 and expanded in FY 1974. Many CDIs and CPCEs reinforced elements of the annual theme, and most courses lasted five days. In the Eighties funding was a constant problem. The cost of about \$300,000 per year provided extraordinary benefits for chaplain professional growth in many areas of ministry.

The Ministry to Chaplains program began as a personal growth program for priests in the mid-70's and later was used with Protestant chaplains. Hundreds of chaplains participated and many CDIs focused on the self-assessment phase of the program. In the mid-Eighties the Chief's Office moved away from a centralized program for personal professional growth and referred to the Ministry to Chaplains' "emphasis."

Long Courses and Professional Military Education

By design, long-term educational opportunities for chaplains were limited. Right after WW II several AF chaplains studied for a year in a civilian institution to assist the chaplaincy at large. After 1950 the Chief's Office controlled the AFIT-funded program for about two chaplains a year, increasing to six in 1959. About seventy-five chaplains attended long courses at educational institutions around the country between 1960 and 1976, and the program continued into the Eighties.

While not a requirement, Professional Military Education (PME) has a long history in the AF chaplaincy. Chaplain Finnegan attended the long course at Ft. Leavenworth with Chaplain Charles Brown (USA), and both later became a Chief of Chaplains.²⁰ Chief of Chaplains McDonough also

²⁰Finnegan Interview.

attended PME in residence. In 1948 one resident chaplain attended each session of Air War College, Command and Staff School, and Air Tactical School (later called Squadron Officers School). This pattern continued with increases in the numbers over the years. Many chaplains also completed courses by correspondence to learn the AF mission and its place in national security.

Chaplain Resources

In July 1959 a Chaplain Writers Board was created at Maxwell AFB. It was renamed the USAF Chaplain Resource Board in 1976 and the USAF Chaplain Service Resource Board in 1989. The Board provided pastoral resources of many kinds over the years, and members conferred and cooperated with counterparts in the other services beginning in the 70's. In the Seventies and Eighties the Board issued a number of publications to share resources, stimulate creativity, and encourage inter-base sharing of programs, and regularly mailed resources to chaplains.

The first effort to stock religious films began with the procurement of seventeen films in 1947. In 1951 chaplains could order films from the newly-inaugurated Chaplains' Film Service. By 1960 the catalog included 244 films, but the inventory was not well used and distribution methods were poor (one chaplain complained in 1959 that he "waited 15 weeks for 'Time and Eternity.'"). The inventory included RE filmstrips and films about chaplain ministry.

The Board produced its first Film Guide in 1970, a step that raised film use appreciably. Chaplains had access to 18,000 prints of 515 film titles, but poor service was not reversed until a chapel manager took over distribution management of the library in 1973. In a clean sweep about 200 obsolete films and all filmstrips were eliminated; new films brought the total to 384 films. By 1974 faith group categories were eliminated and about 12,500 quality prints were used. The film library served an important function in the Eighties, and videos entered the inventory.

Chaplain Conferences

Conferences provided opportunities for professional growth, training and building esprit de corps. Some air chaplain conferences for senior chaplains occurred in WW II, as well as training conferences for chaplains at all levels, also overseas. The USAF Staff Chaplains Conference (later called Command Chaplains Conference) began as an annual conference in November 1948; in 1951 denominational representatives participated for first time. In the mid-fifties these conferences had themes; at the 1954 conference General Thomas D. White, Chief of Staff, announced the official AF hymn, "Lord, Guard and Guide the Men Who Fly." Conferences for approximately 200 base supervising chaplains were held in 1964 and perhaps earlier. In 1970 the USAF Chaplains Conference convened forty senior chaplains and an equal number of endorsing agents. The next year the number of chaplains increased dramatically and endorsing agents were not invited. Annual conferences for senior installation chaplains in CONUS then became the norm,

switching to biennial in 1977; they were called the USAF Chaplains Conference. Semi-annual Command Chaplains Conferences continued. Among the first conferences held by commands were USAFE's in 1947 and ATC's in 1948.

Religious Education Curricula

Unified curriculum materials for Protestants were made available to the Armed Forces in 1954 at the suggestion of the Air Force. Research on the project started before 1950. Chaplain Carpenter later recalled that denominational RE staffers were not interested in the project, so denominational business managers were approached. They brought materials to a gathering and a progressive curriculum was selected with a Methodist body serving as central dispenser.²¹

In the 60's the National Association of Evangelicals voiced opposition to the Protestant unified curriculum as violating the separation of church and state. When the AFCB asked the DOD Judge Advocate General for an opinion in 1964, that Office replied that "the content of the curriculum is not propounded by the Government, but by the free expression of the church," and military authorities "must view the present dispute as a religious matter in which, instead of compliance, it would actually be a violation of the Constitution to interfere."²² Chief of Chaplains Taylor later recalled meeting with the Chief of Staff, General Curtis E. LeMay, to describe the curriculum selection process for a response to a congressional inquiry. After hearing the explanation General LeMay saw no problem with the process.²³

In the mid-Seventies the Protestant curriculum had two "tracks," one Bible-to-life and the other life-to-Bible. The Air Force normally used about 50% of RE materials shipped in the unified curriculum versus 40% for the Army and about 10% for the Navy.

A common curriculum for Roman Catholics was first developed in the Army. The Military Ordinariate approved its use in the Armed Forces in 1954. The first unified Catholic curriculum for the Air Force was published in 1970. In June 1973 Catholic military chaplains in all services received their first tri-service Catholic curriculum guide and contract for RE materials. An AF chaplain edited the guide, and practice that continued.

A unified Jewish curriculum was created under the auspices of the Jewish Welfare Board and distributed in 1965. A revised Jewish curriculum guide was issued in 1977.

III. Integration in the Air Force Structure

Over the years the AF chaplaincy has become fully integrated in the Air Force, the second of its two support systems. This integration is apparent in the way the Chief's Office became part of the Chief of Staff's special staff, in the manning and force structure of the chaplaincy and the evolution of

²¹Carpenter Interview.

²²Scharlemann, III, 113.

²³Taylor Interview.

chapel management personnel, and in the leadership and management philosophies pursued in the chaplaincy.

A. Institutional Integration

1. Chief of Chaplains' Office

As Air Chaplain and Chief of Air Force Chaplains, Chaplain Carpenter served under the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel. He was convinced at the time and later that this was the right place for the Chief's Office since Personnel could protect the chaplaincy's manpower and be helpful in many ways. But he was not hesitant to go upstairs when the situation required. He recounted that in the Fifties a manpower person informed him that he was being assigned to the Chief's Office to determine vacancies and assignments. Asking who sent him to the position, Chaplain Carpenter was informed the Chief of Manpower. He politely informed the gentlemen that he would meet with General Twining (Chief of Staff) to argue his case. He did, and the chaplaincy's assignment autonomy was protected.²⁴

Chief of Chaplains Taylor, on the other hand, considered his most significant accomplishment the transfer of the Chief's Office to a position on the Chief of Staff's special staff. He thought this alignment should mirror the position of chaplains assigned at base and command. He was the first to be designated Chief of Chaplains, USAF, instead of Chief of Air Force Chaplains (1963).²⁵ This transfer was not in step with the tradition of the military chaplaincies.

In rapid succession two important developments had occurred after 1958: the term of the Chief of Chaplains became regularized at four years by Chief of Chaplains Finnegan, and the Chief's Office was aligned directly under the Chief of Staff. In an organizational sense the AF chaplaincy was a continuation of the WW II chaplaincy until these changes occurred.

As a member of the special staff Chief of Chaplains Terry—and perhaps several predecessors—attended the biannual Corona conferences of senior AF commanders convened by the Chief of Staff. That tradition continued into the Eighties. Chief of Chaplains Barstad later reflected that the institutional alignment on the Chief of Staff's special staff replaced an earlier trust that the “senior leadership will take care of us.” Such trust may have been well placed when personal religious commitment was more widespread.²⁶

In the late Sixties the chaplaincy nearly lost its autonomy to assign chaplain personnel in a major disagreement between the Chief and Deputy. The Deputy was relieved and transferred to a small command as a brigadier general, and a new Deputy (Chaplain Terry) reported as a colonel. Until that time a Protestant Chief or Deputy normally approved assignments for Protestants, and a Catholic Chief or Deputy approved Catholic assignments. Thereafter the Chief and Deputy increasingly worked as a team, a phenomenon that blossomed in the Eighties.

²⁴Chiefs' Panel.

²⁵Taylor Interview.

²⁶Chiefs' Panel.

Chaplain Finnegan was the first Deputy to become Chief of Chaplains. In the Seventies the so-called “dead end Deputy” served two years rather than four, then retired when a second Deputy was named. In the Eighties with Chief of Chaplains Collins the Chief’s tour became three years, as did the Deputy’s, to conform with the other professional services in the AF. The two-year Deputy was a direct result of the flare-up at the end of the Sixties.

The make-up of the Chief’s Office has not changed radically over the years. In the WW II AAF and until 1947 it included only a personnel section. A major organizational change in 1947–49 was the formation of the Casualty Assistance Branch and the Professional Branch (continuing the earlier Plans, Training and Supply Branch). In 1951 the branches were called divisions: Professional; Budget, Fiscal and Supply; and Personnel. The next year the casualty assistance function was moved back to Military Personnel. A non-chaplain executive officer was assigned to the office in 1949.

In 1971 two more divisions were added, the Ecclesiastical and Public Relations Division (later transformed into an “Officer”) and the Executive Division (NCOIC and support). The Readiness and Reserve Affairs Division formed in 1980 was later (1985) absorbed by the renamed Personnel, Manpower and Readiness Division, as was the recruiter for Catholic chaplains. The Professional Division was renamed the Education and Professional Development Division in 1985. In the 70’s the divisions began holding conferences for command personnel in their areas.

The Office was located near Washington National Cathedral from 1949 until 1970 when it moved to Bolling AFB, DC. A major fire destroyed the Office of the Chief of Chaplains on October 30, 1980. After using temporary quarters for over four years the staff moved into a new building at Bolling in the spring of 1985.

When the AF took orders from other branches of the government, sometimes there were ramifications for the chaplaincy. An agreement between Saudi Arabia and the U.S. in 1951 (enforced into the Eighties) prevented chaplains from wearing chaplain insignia in that country. No chaplains were permanently stationed there after 1962; pilots transporting chaplains for temporary duty used the code name “sky pilots” for Protestants and “fish eaters” for priests. Services were held behind locked doors. When AF bases opened in countries with established Christian religions, other problems appeared. In the 60’s police interrupted a Protestant Sunday School picnic in Spain because the group had no meeting permit.

2. Staff and Supervisory Chaplains

The emergence of supervisory or staff chaplains was an important development in the chaplaincy. In 1942 there were twelve staff positions including the Air Chaplain and his assistant (four chaplains served in that office by end of WWII). by the end of 1957 eleven staff chaplains served in the Chief’s Office and seventy-five others held major staff assignments (1 for 12.5 chaplains). This growth was an important element in supervising chaplain activities and providing centralized guidance.

One early organizational problem was the relation of AF chaplains to Army staff chaplains, especially in overseas areas. This was especially troublesome in the Far East Air Force during WW II and later. Complete separation from Army supervisors (known as Theater Chaplains) did not occur there until General Douglas MacArthur relinquished command of Far East Command; he insisted on absolute control of forces. The problem was finally resolved in 1951, six years after resolution in Europe. A re-run of the problem nearly recurred in Europe in 1952 but was narrowly avoided.

In 1948 the chaplain regulation recommended that staff chaplains should serve under the personnel division, but in 1952 all reference to their berth was removed because the advice was largely inapplicable and unsuitable in the field. Personnel officers sometimes kept chaplains from attending staff meetings, and chaplains were not being used as staff chaplains. The organizational misalignment of staff chaplains caused serious problems for chaplain coverage in early phases of the Korea conflict. For example, the Far East Air Force Command Chaplain was not well informed on chaplain requirements since he could not attend staff meetings, and the Deputy for Personnel initiated requisitions for chaplain personnel without his coordination, resulting in severe denominational imbalances and shortages. In 1953 the AF advised that staff chaplains be aligned outside of personnel, and staff chaplains became part of the commander's special staff in 1953-54. They were called "Air Chaplains" in 1948 and "Staff Chaplains" in 1952. In 1959 a distinction was drawn between Command Chaplains and Division Chaplains, with numbered AF and Air Staff chaplains being called Staff Chaplains.

The process of moving into the institution did not stop. In 1960 for the first time a chaplain section was formed at the headquarters of MATS (now MAC). Of the sixteen commands operating during much of the 60's, only the AF Communications Service lacked a command chaplain. In the late Sixties and Seventies most command chaplain offices created sections or divisions that mirrored the Chief's Office. Command chaplains stressed their pastoral role in relationships with chapel teams. They monitored inter-service and inter-command agreements at command and base levels, conducted staff assistance visits, and late in the Eighties took full responsibility for inspections.

Supervisory chaplains at operational levels had various titles: Wing Base or Base Chaplains (1948); Base Chaplains (1952); Installation Chaplains (1954); Wing Chaplains (1960); and in the 70's and 80's, Senior Installation Chaplains and Installation Staff Chaplains. In 1980 the Chief's Office strongly opposed a realignment that placed the operational chaplain under the combat support commander rather than the wing commander, terming the move an "unprecedented organizational handicap." The office did not prevail except that the chaplain served on the wing commander's staff as additional duty.

B. Chaplain Service Personnel

As an integral part of the Air Force the chaplaincy's manning rose and fell with the number of AF personnel. The typical WW II manpower standard of

one chaplain per 1,000 personnel increased slightly because of a growing number of dependents. Additionally, over the years AF personnel policies have been applied consistently to Chaplain Service personnel.

1. Chaplain Force Structure

When the AF chaplaincy was authorized as an independent agency chaplains could transfer to the AF or remain with the Army. Less than ten of the 458 chaplains on active duty in the AF returned to the Army in the transfer of July 1949, which included 119 Regular and 339 Reserve chaplains on active duty. Also transferring were 573 Reserve chaplains on inactive status. Overall chaplain shortages from WW II to 1960 varied from about 130 short in September 1946, 25 in June 1950, 250 in June 1952, 185 in July 1955, and 25 short in August 1960.

The Casualty Assistance program and build-up for the Berlin Airlift raised the number of active duty chaplains to 458 when the chaplaincy became independent. Startling increases accompanied the Korean conflict. Chaplains in uniform numbered 469 in June 1950 but nearly doubled to 791 in a year. The Air Force began 1951 with 560,000 personnel; by end of year it had 900,000. Between June 1951 and June 1952 about 250 chaplains entered active duty, and in the next fiscal year 178 new chaplains came on board (a gain of 41 over those released). In February 1955 a total of 1,029 chaplains were assigned overseas (318), in the U.S. (552), and the personnel pipeline (159).

A major reduction in force (RIF) occurred in 1958. The event was complex with a large gain in chaplain authorization in FY 1956 and a large loss in FY 1958. In FY 1955 authorizations had been raised to 1,200, but commands could not justify this quota for FY 1958 partly because of a reduction in force in AF personnel. As a result chaplain authorization was cut to 1,107, although 1,184 chaplains were on duty at the end of 1957. The result was the forced separation of 74 chaplains while normal attrition reduced another 64.

Authorizations increased with the Vietnam War. Chaplains on active duty numbered 1,099 in 1964, 1,139 in 1966, and 1,178 in February 1970. Personnel turbulence hit the Air Force and the chaplaincy in the early Seventies as the war ended. AF manpower plummeted 38% between 1968 and 1978, from a high of around 900,000 to about 585,000.

As a result of the draw-down the number of active duty chaplains fell from 1,157 in June 1970 to 981 in June 1974, 860 in June 1976, 820 in June 1977, and 846 in June 1978 (a 16% decrease between 1970 and 1974 and again between 1974 and 1977), then remained in that range during the rest of the 70's. Throughout the 70's Protestant chaplains composed about 66–67% of the total while Roman Catholics made up about 30–32%. There were about 11–15 Jewish and 5–10 Orthodox chaplains on active duty.

For the first time in sixteen years an involuntary RIF occurred in early 1974. Initially Chief of Chaplains Terry was given a loss of 75 slots; he eventually negotiated the number down to fifteen. One class of chaplains was reviewed and the lower percentage selected for release.²⁷ Chief of

²⁷Chiefs' Panel.

Chaplains Barstad, who served in one of the divisions at the time, later recounted that a very important lesson was learned: never let a RIF occur again, and avoid it at all costs since it was destructive for chaplains involved and for the whole chaplaincy.²⁸

Subsequently in the Seventies and Eighties the Chief's Office worked to avoid a RIF. The Personnel Division carefully monitored the "Christmas tree" of rank, negotiated such factors as promotion percentages (reducing the first-time 0-5 promotion opportunity from 75% to 50% from 1975 to 1977), kept authorizations and filled slots in alignment, encouraged retirements, and reduced acquisitions. By mid-1978 the typical "Christmas tree" rank structure was being approximated. Air Force agencies conducted two major manpower studies to validate authorizations in the Seventies and Eighties.

In the Eighties the number of chaplains did not vary appreciably, though falling slightly. The number authorized reached its high of around 870 in 1985-86, then decreased to around 830 in 1989. The number of active duty chaplains assigned was at its high of 849 in 1983, falling to 818 in 1989. Budgetary cutbacks and dramatic events in the USSR and Eastern Europe foreshadowed further reductions at the end of the decade.

2. Promotions and Tours

Promotions were decided by promotion boards on the basis of efficiency reports. During WW II almost everyone in the AAF—including chaplains—was promoted as rapidly as possible in order to get some senior people.²⁹ At end of WW II members of the Air Chaplain's Office served on selection boards in the Army Chief's Office.

In 1948 an AF regulation prevented any chaplain except the Chief of Air Force Chaplains from writing an efficiency report on another chaplain, a requirement that was removed in 1956. Public law established a separate promotion list for chaplains in 1949. This was a very significant milestone. Before the AF chaplaincy separated from the Army the Army controlled all promotion policies; after the chaplaincy became independent it had a separate chaplain promotion list and chaplains served on promotion boards. In 1976 for a brief period chaplain Officer Effectiveness Reports were subject to controlled review and distribution.

The period from the end of WW II to 1958 was a tumultuous one for overseas and U.S. tours. Chaplains sometimes spent only one year stateside before going overseas, and many were held longer than their assigned tour in the Far East during the Korean conflict. During the Vietnam War most tours in Southeast Asia did not exceed 180 days. In the Eighties budgetary cuts increased the amount of time on station.

3. Minorities and Females

As indicated, Black chaplains served in the AAF. The USAF Staff Chaplains Conference at Wright-Patterson in November 1949 included a USAF

²⁸Chiefs' Panel.

²⁹Carpenter Interview.

Negro Chaplain Conference to further the "Air Force non-segregation policy." In 1977 twenty-four Black chaplains were convened by the Chief to address the role of minority chaplains as perceived by self and peers and other issues. Another conference was held in the late 80's.

In the Seventies the number of minority chaplains increased. Nineteen Blacks served on active duty in June 1971 and three from other races; by December 1973 there were 26 Blacks despite a decrease in the force. In the first half of FY 1976 the number increased from 29 to 34. By August 1980 there were 55 Blacks and ten other identifiable minority chaplains. The number of Black chaplains continued climbing in the 80's reaching 69 in 1984 and a high of 82 in 1988. The first Black chaplain was assigned to the Chaplain School faculty in the Seventies, and the first female in the late Eighties.

In 1950 a female minister from Alabama sought information on becoming an AF chaplain but could not qualify since she was 50 years old. Later that year a WCTU chapter offered the services of its members as chaplains, but the offer was declined because Air Force policy made no provision for female applicants. The first female chaplain entered active duty in November 1973. By 1980 there were nine females on active duty. In the Eighties the numbers hovered in the mid-teens since faith groups continued to restrict the nomination of female clergy for accession.

4. Reserve, ANG, CAP and Auxiliary Chaplains

Many Reserve and Air National Guard (ANG) chaplains were recalled to active duty during the first part of the Korean War, both individually and in units. In the early Sixties the Reserve program fell into disarray although for the first time a Reserve chaplain was promoted to brigadier general in 1966. That year a Chaplain Area Representative program credited Reservists with points for performing burials and other ministry.

As more Category A and mobilization positions opened up, in the early Seventies the Reserve program was placed under a single manager at Air Reserve Personnel Center (ARPC) and Reserve chaplains began receiving training as team members of a total force. This was a significant development. The AFRES chaplain also served as single manager for Category A chaplains while in the mid-70's an ANG chaplain came on active duty to manage ANG chaplains. Eventually an ANG advisor to the Chief of Chaplains was named in the rank of brigadier general. In 1976 there were 140 Reserve mobilization augmentees (Category B), 60 Category A Reserve unit chaplains, and 103 ANG chaplains, in addition to about 100 chaplain candidates and 250 Reserve and ANG chapel managers. A major study of Reserve Chaplain Service needs late in the Seventies documented a shortfall of 300 Category B chaplains for wartime mobilization requirements. ARPC soon filled the new quota for 450 chaplains. In the 80's personnel turbulence affected manpower in Category B and mandays for training and support were limited. Chapel managers participated in all phases of the Reserve and ANG program.

A Chaplain Trainee program was established in 1952 and renamed the "Air Force ROTC Chaplain Candidate Program" in 1959. Only about

thirty persons enrolled in the program from 1952 to 1959; the biggest problem was that it lacked military training. In 1960 the ROTC program was dropped. ROTC chaplain graduates were required to serve three years in the AF.

A new program instituted around 1964 allowed seminarians to secure a provisional commission as second lieutenants as well as experience for later service on Reserve or active duty status. The Chaplain Candidate Program was heavily revised and revitalized in 1971–72, and by 1972 the program had 57 candidates, increasing to 130 in 1977. Black and Roman Catholics seminarians were specially targeted for recruitment; there were no Catholic candidates in 1971 but forty-four in 1977. The candidate program helped produce a more realistic alignment of faith group representation in the Reserve program. In the late Seventies and Eighties the majority of chaplains entering active duty came through the candidate and Reserve programs.

Civilian auxiliary chaplains were employed in the 60's to supplement chaplain coverage for the Insite program on northern radar sites. Many continued to supplement chaplain ministry on domestic and overseas bases in the 70's and 80's. Roman Catholic and Jewish clergy were used most frequently as auxiliaries.

In the Sixties Civil Air Patrol (CAP) chaplains received new moral leadership materials for use with cadets. They had been using printed matter from the early Fifties. In the 80's CAP had over 1,000 volunteer chaplains to minister to cadets in programs around the nation.

5. Chapel Management Personnel

During WW II the role played by chaplain assistants became more important as they assisted AAF chaplains in world-wide ministry. Usually one chaplain assistant was assigned to each chaplain. The AAF training school for chaplains in San Antonio, TX included a two-week course for assistants that emphasized the air perspective and gave practical training in such matters as operating an auto, directing choirs, and office procedures. The twenty course sessions for chaplain assistants in 1944–45 had 945 students with only 6 failing to complete requirements. Tabulations showed that 312 were organists, 412 pianists, 570 choristers, and 155 vocal soloists. Seventy-four of the students were members of the Women's Army Corps. The students generally were much better educated than the rest of the enlisted corps; 868 were high school graduates, 523 had one or more years of college, and 76 had degrees in music.³⁰

In March 1949 the first career field was created in the Armed Forces for enlisted personnel assisting in the chaplain program. These personnel were classified as Welfare Specialists. Chief of Chaplains Carpenter later recounted what happened. General Arnold, a strong believer in the motto "The AF takes care of its own," had earlier organized the AF Aid Society for personnel to use in making a second appeal for immediate aid if Red

³⁰Honeywell, pp. 250–51; Jorgensen, I, 143–45.

Cross officials rejected their request. At the time some Red Cross directors were reportedly autocratic and too aggressive in making aid decisions, including emergency transportation. The new aid society had representatives on each base, but when the newly independent Air Force faced a manpower reduction Aid Society offices had to be closed. Working with Charles Maylon in Personnel, Chaplain Carpenter suggested to General Arnold that the chaplaincy assume responsibility for the program, which happened. This helped validate the chaplain assistant's position and resulted in the new title "welfare specialist." When the manpower spaces eventually had to be returned for the Aid Society, Chaplain Carpenter proposed a trade to General Arnold: return of the slots in exchange for the establishment of a career field complete with courses and training so that chaplains would have efficient assistants. General Arnold concurred and the specialized career field was born.³¹

Chaplain assistants were usually of the same major faith group as chaplains, but in 1951 this regulation from 1948 was rescinded although the practice continued. Finally in 1953 the suffixes P, J, and C were affixed to names on the personnel roster to identify assistants and simplify assignments. This faith group identification endured until the early Seventies.

In 1954 the support person's title was changed from Welfare Specialist to Chaplain Specialist and the career field was renamed Chaplain Services Personnel (CSP). Up to 1958 the philosophy was based largely on the Army practice of a specialist (soldier or civilian) assisting each chaplain, but then command requirements began determining authorization numbers for specialists.

The Fifties brought a severe shortage of specialists. The field was short 360 persons in 1955 and 158 the next year. A systematic program to secure personnel for the field was instituted in 1959, including an extensive interview of prospects at Lackland AFB. In the spring of 1955 the first training of basic airmen as Chaplain Specialists (versus Welfare Specialists) began at F.E. Warren AFB, WY, moving to Lackland AFB in 1957. On the Job Training (OJT) was standardized in 1956 and remains an integral part of the career field. For the first part of the 60's the CSP school was located at Amarillo AFB, TX, then transferred to Keesler AFB, MS, where it remains.

In 1969 the SAC Command Chaplain's office proposed an in-depth analysis of the career field. Approved by the Chief of Chaplains, the study grew out of an attempt to redress poor retention statistics (reenlistment in the lower ranks was about two out of ten, below the overall enlisted AF), lack of job satisfaction, and poor use of personnel in the career field. Chief of Chaplains Chess' emphasis on chaplains serving as pastors played an important role in this discussion. In March that year SAC held a conference of senior chapel managers and the results were forwarded to the Chief of Chaplains. As a result of the study the field's responsibilities were divided three ways: administration, financial management, and professional support, with a single non-commissioned officer in charge (subsequently designated Chief,

³¹Carpenter Interview; Chief of Chaplains Finnegan recollected that in the late Carpenter years a policy was adopted that no volunteers would be taken into the enlisted field (Finnegan Interview).

Chapel Support Activities). The career field was designated "Chapel Management Personnel" (CMP).

The official restructuring occurred in January 1972. By the end of the 70's re-enlistment stood at 60% for first-termers, 71% for second-termers, and 100% for careerists. There were 781 CMPs assigned in 1974. Faith group suffixes were removed from CMP codes in 1971, and the first non-commissioned officers were assigned to the Chief's office late that year. An agreement in 1976 allowed Navy chaplain professional assistants to receive training at the CMP School. The number of CMPs in the Eighties reached a high of 720 in 1987, falling to 662 in 1989 as a force draw-down commenced.

WAC females attended the chaplain assistant school during WW II and served as chaplain assistants. WAF females were members of the career field in the new Air Force, many with lengthy careers; for example, Josephine Fabec entered the field as Welfare Specialist to aid in Casualty Assistance and remained until 1960. Females continued serving until 1963 when the last one was phased out on the basis that the work occasionally called for strenuous physical labor deemed too difficult for women. But a surprising development occurred in 1968:

By a quirk in coding three WAF found themselves assigned to McChord AFB, Washington, in 1968 to serve as CSP. When the "goof" was discovered, they were given the option of declining to accept. They turned the choice against the personnel section by offering gladly to go if they might "mow the lawn of the chapel in their Bikinis!" So the WAF were back, heavy work or no.³²

In the Seventies and Eighties the single-manager concept provided a managerial focus for the career field. Late in 1988 the Air Force Specialty Code for the field was transferred from administration to the Chaplain Service, showing the chapel manager's clear responsibility as a support arm for the chaplaincy. The CMP field used personal computers effectively in the 80's for financial management, word-processing, scheduling, and other purposes.

C. Leadership and Management

Leadership and management philosophies pursued in the AF chaplaincy were closely related to the leadership and management procedures popular in the Air Force at the time. Over the decades they changed appreciably.

During Chaplain Carpenter's period the mode of operation was autocratic both in the AAF and AF and in the chaplaincy. The Six Point Program was directive in nature. The *Chaplain Newsletter* was inaugurated in September 1954 to provide regular contact with and policy guidance from the Chief's Office. In an AF-wide inspection report on chaplain activities in 1965-58 it was reported that few chaplain sections held regular staff meetings.

The use of annual themes by Chief of Chaplains Chess was among other things an effort to organize chaplain resources around a central area

³²Scharlemann, III, 175.

and simultaneously open up all areas. In FY 1967–70 the themes included “Single Airman Ministry,” “Religious Education,” “Family Life,” and “Pastoral Ministry.” Reports were required on how each year’s emphasis was implemented, showing some continued concern with centralized control. In the Seventies the theme year was changed from the fiscal to the program year (Fall to Fall), and “emphasis” became “theme.”

Chief of Chaplains Terry used “Now” as umbrella for four themes that encouraged chaplains to use sociological, psychological and religious tools to help bridge such gaps in the AF as those between chaplain and people, officer and airman, and black and white. The themes included “The Now Man” (1971), “The Now Family” (1972), “God Is Hope—God Is Now” (1973), and “Walk Together” (1974 and 1975). Chief of Chaplains Meade’s themes emphasized fundamental religious and human values: “We, The People” (1976), “Unless the Lord Builds” (1977), and “Ministering Is a Way of Living” (1978). Chief of Chaplains Carr stressed accountability and high standards with “What Does the Lord Require . . . ? (1979), “Faithful to Our Calling” (1980, 1981), and “Lively Servants of the Living Lord” (1982). The theme in 1983 and 1984, “Present to the World,” was shared with Chief of Chaplains Collins, whose theme in 1985 and 1986 stressed the Word, “Hear the Word of the Lord.” Chief of Chaplains Barstad focused on impacting the AF as an institution with “Called to Excellence” (1987), “Seek Peace and Pursue It” (1988), and “People Who Care” (1989). Chief of Chaplains McDonough’s simple theme, “Live By Faith” (1990) emphasized spirituality and its values.

With Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird in 1969 the Air Force began stressing decentralization of control. At this time the Chief’s Office moved away from strong central control of programming. In the 70’s the Chiefs’ policies clearly pointed toward decentralization and the increasing importance of local needs assessment and programming. In 1974 a new basic regulation appeared; its title dropped the old “Air Force Chaplains Program” in favor of “The Chaplain Service.” It also eliminated the six or seven point Program division. In 1976 a new inspection model appeared, emphasizing local needs and breaking cleanly with the centralized control of the Fifties and early Sixties. Installation chaplains (later called installation staff chaplains) and command chaplains were pivotal players in the move to decentralized leadership. The SAC command chaplain led the way in creating pastoral staff assistance visits to bases in 1975. Early in the decade the Chief’s office laid strong emphasis on developing base pastoral teams. ISCs increasingly interacted with fellow chaplains as colleagues rather than subordinates; base-level professional growth programs helped cultivate a healthy atmosphere, and the growing professionalism of the chapel management field released chaplains from administrative details. Commands began holding joint chaplain/CMP conferences. Finally, lay leaders were integrated into the team-building concept through the formation of Protestant and Catholic parish councils (especially in 1974, though some began earlier), and sometimes ecumenical councils. Awards to chaplains, chapel teams and various chapel groups popular in the Fifties and Sixties were cancelled in the Seventies as counter-productive to this emphasis on decentralization.

Real power-sharing occurred in the Eighties as the Chief's Office under Chief of Chaplains Collins turned to the command chaplains as the primary operational leaders of the AF chaplaincy. The Chief's Office viewed itself as policy, manpower and funding guardian at the highest level, but recognized that the chaplaincy's cutting edge of ministry was at the base and that command chaplains were critical links.

Inspection of chapel programming was an integral part of managing the Chaplain Service. Beginning in 1949 there was an unofficial relation with the Inspector General (IG) until a chaplain was appointed to the IG staff from 1952-60 to inspect implementation of the Six Point Program and policies and directives. In 1960 inspection duties passed to command chaplains' offices. Chaplain inspectors at AF level were re-instituted in 1971, inspecting 225 bases by the end of 1976, though some commands maintained inspections. AF-wide inspections in the 70's and 80's were of two kinds: Functional Management Inspections reviewed a single area over broad coverage, and Chaplain Service Management Inspections inspected the chaplain program at large. In the late Eighties responsibility for inspection was returned almost completely to command offices because of a reduction in personnel.

D. Facilities and Funds

The Chaplain Service used many kinds of religious facilities over the years. Funding fell into three categories: appropriated funds, chaplain funds, and welfare funds.

1. Religious Facilities

We reviewed the use of WW II chapels above. When the AF became a separate service in 1947 about 375 chapels were turned over. Most of them were of little continuing use or value and many in the U.S. were disposed of to civilian groups, a process also occurring in the Army and Navy. Before the Korean War no additional AF chapels were built in the U.S. and only a few were constructed in the occupied areas of Germany and Japan. Of 114 AF chapels of all kinds world-wide in 1949, only 46 were called adequate.

With the Korean War a period of rapid construction of religious facilities commenced in the Far East, especially in Korea where numerous facilities were built. The 50's saw the construction of hospital chapels, as well as "chapels," "chapel annexes," "annexes," "religious education buildings," and "chapel centers."

This was the decade of large-scale construction of permanent chapels. In 1950 the AF had only five permanent chapels (Langley, Randolph, Barksdale, March, Fairfield-Suisan). In 1951 the AF adopted definitive drawings for 150 and 300 seat chapels and religious education buildings. Each new structure was expected to cost \$250,000. The first new type chapel was completed at Wichita AFB (McConnell) in August 1952. By October 1953 forty-eight AF chapels were in various stages of construction, 28 in the zone of interior and 20 overseas, with completion scheduled by early 1954. The first religious education wing was completed at

Ellsworth AFB, SD in 1955, but generally religious education space was lacking. By September 1959 the AF had 523 chapels of all kinds (204 outside the U.S.), including seventeen of the new design just completed in the last year and 24 under construction. From 1951–60, Congress approved construction of facilities at a cost of \$39.7 million, including 28 chapels with annexes, 139 chapels, 86 annexes, and two combined theater/chapels.

By 1970 chaplains were using 606 religious facilities, 401 in CONUS and 205 overseas (including 305 chapels and 281 other buildings); this was up from 488 chapel facilities in existence in 1954. Between 1960 and 1970 Congress approved construction of approximately 121 chapels, chapels with annexes, chapel annexes, chapel bases, chapel bases with annexes, and chapel centers (term used for chapel with a chapel annex after FY 1968); many were small projects of 150–600 square feet.

In the 70's the cost of constructing chapel facilities increased roughly 300% between 1972 and 1976. The main chapel for basic trainees at Lackland was dedicated early in the 70's. Religious education facilities and activity areas in chapels were opened to compatible base community activities. A new set of definitive drawings early in the decade permitted designs to fit local needs rather than being mere imitations of other chapels, and architects could design elevations. Chief of Chaplains Meade took the lead in attempting to "pastoralize" the process of designing chapels; he was especially concerned with the lack of natural light and the traditional interior format.

In the Seventies and Eighties this effort bore fruit in the designs of chapels built at Hickam, RAF Chicksands, the "pyramid" chapel at Lackland, and elsewhere. In the Eighties the Chief's Office provided training tools for bases to use in petitioning and justifying new facilities since the funding process began at that level.

2. Windows and Accouterments

Among the large number of memorial windows installed in chapels in the Sixties were those at the SAC Memorial Chapel (Offutt AFB), Edwards AFB, Seymour Johnson AFB, and Columbus AFB. When Wheelus AB of Tripoli, Libya was closed, the "Lady Be Good" stained glass window was brought to the Air Force Museum for permanent display with an interim stop at Barksdale AFB. In the 80's a policy was adopted prohibiting memorial windows in chapels and encouraging the use of themes that were not offensive to any faith group.

In 1951 the new AF color scheme of blue and silver was adopted for chaplain and chapel equipment (chaplain stoles, portable altar sets, and altar appointments). By 1954 most chapels had converted from the Army maroon and gold. AF-design chaplain kits for Christian and Jewish chaplains were available in 1952; a new Jewish kit was issued in 1959, when a new Catholic kit appeared as well, and a proposed new Protestant kit was put under study. In 1976 the chaplain kit was authorized only for distribution to chaplains designated by commands.

3. Funds

Up to 1948 the Army Chief's Office prepared and defended appropriated funds budgets for the AAF and AF chaplaincy, but then the AF Chief took on the responsibility. A move toward decentralized budgeting in 1959 meant that O&M funds had to be budgeted and secured at the local level for support, supplies, and other items. The funds expended in chaplain programming (not counting personnel and facility costs) were usually a small percentage of a command's budget. For example, while SAC's appropriated budget in FY 1974 was \$2.33 billion, the command's fifty chapel programs spent approximately \$600,000 in appropriated money; another \$850,000 was gathered in chaplain funds. In 1972 chaplains at the local level began preparing budget estimates and financial plans each year.

The first regulation in any service regulating administration of Chaplain Funds appeared in 1953. It authorized an AF Chaplain Fund as well as command and installation chaplain funds (Protestant, Catholic and Jewish). Early on there was a requirement for an annual collection for the AF Chaplain Fund, but one year only 50% of the bases responded. In 1961 the AF Chaplain Fund began collecting 5% of each chaplain fund's annual receipts, later increased to 7%. Chief of Chaplains Taylor began an annual collection and disbursement of funds to faith groups with chaplains on active duty. Until 1971 all fund custodians were chaplains, but then a pilot program used NCOs as custodians. An unsuccessful effort was made in 1976 to remove chaplain funds from the category of "non-appropriated" funds; it succeeded in the Eighties. AF-wide chaplain fund collections totalled \$4.2 million in FY 1975, \$5.8 in FY 1979, \$8.0 in FY 1983, and over \$9M in FY 1985. As the pool of appropriated funds shrunk there was increased reliance on chaplain funds for many necessities, although chaplains persisted in efforts to justify appropriated funding.

Military welfare funds were used at an early date and for several decades for such items as altar flowers, organists and choir directors, robes, etc. A policy change in 1976 severely restricted the use of these funds except for programs that contributed directly to the overall morale and welfare of personnel, such as marriage enrichment seminars or single airmen programs. In the Eighties budgeting for such requests devolved once again to the bases and commands from the Chief's Office.

4. Air Force Academy Cadet Chapel

Special note should be made of the AF Academy cadet chapel since it is the best-known chapel in the Air Force. In 1955 the Chief's Office received approval to site three chapels at the Academy. Apparently another proposal was for one chapel to be used separately by each faith group. These proposals did not prove satisfactory to Chief of Chaplains Carpenter and Deputy Chief of Chaplains Finnegan. Chaplain Finnegan later recounted that "I wanted three separate chapels," but if that was impossible, why not two with one for Catholic and Jewish services below the Protestant chapel?³³

³³Carpenter Interview; Finnegan Interview.

In 1958 Congress approved the radical architectural design that included three chapels in one building. Construction commenced in August 1959 with the final building cost around \$3.5 million. With seventeen spires and a roof of 100 tetrahedrons, the chapel was dedicated on September 22, 1963. The building includes a Protestant chapel seating 1,200 and a 100-seat choir loft, a Catholic chapel seating 500 with an 80-seat choir loft, and a Jewish chapel seating 100. An All Faiths Room is also provided.

The basic exterior design was modern Gothic. One magazine described it as "at once old and new, physical and spiritual, solid and soaring, of the earth and of outer space." The cadet chapel occupies one side of the Academy quadrangle. It is a major tourist attraction with over 700,000 visitors in 1977.

Equipping the chapel was another challenge. With basic funding exhausted, there was no allowance for furnishings and other accouterments. Over \$500,000 was needed. By October 1960 the Chief's Office raised over \$390,000 from such sources as base chaplain funds (\$161,000), a grant from the Welfare Fund for organs (\$180,000), and \$50,000 from the Jewish Welfare Board to furnish the Jewish chapel. Chief of Chaplains Finnegan later recounted that the Secretary of the Air Force notified him of the fund shortage in 1959; he agreed to take on the project. He informed all commanders who encouraged AF personnel to contribute via the chapels. Cardinal Spellman and others played important roles in gathering some funds, he added.³⁴

Chief of Chaplains Carpenter and others defeated earlier efforts to provide burial places in the chapel for Chiefs of Staff and perhaps Secretaries of the Air Force. The chaplain leaders insisted that the United States had no state church and the chapel was not a Westminster Cathedral.

Chaplain Carpenter went to the Academy as senior chaplain when he left the Chief's Office in 1958. With an unfinished chapel he conducted weddings for the first graduating class in the Superintendent's quarters. He strongly opposed the philosophy that the Academy was to be "West Point West," and found himself in frequent disagreement about compulsory chapel attendance at 8:00 AM or 5:00 PM and the cadet honor code.³⁵

Terminated briefly at the Academy in the late Fifties, compulsory attendance persisted there and at AF indoctrination centers (Lackland, Sampson, Parks) where basic airmen were required to attend the first Sunday or Sabbath service after arrival. In view of an impending Supreme Court decision on the constitutionality of the practice, the AF terminated the requirement at the end of 1972. Currently about 25% of the Academy cadets are estimated to attend a service every weekend. Contemporary worship formats were first used in Protestant worship services in the mid-Seventies. On numerous occasions in the Seventies and Eighties the chapel was the scene of demonstrations.

IV. Ministry in Military Operations

The chaplaincy exists to enable military personnel to exercise religion under all circumstances. As an instrument of national policy, these personnel

³⁴Finnegan Interview.

³⁵Carpenter Interview; Chiefs' Panel.

engage in military operations, including war. Ministry to personnel in war-time tests the mettle of religious professionals to the extreme. The ministry of chaplains that occurs with such regularity in peacetime takes on added meaning and intensity in wartime.

We have discussed the ministry of air chaplains in WW II, but several vignettes provide further insight. One involving Chief of Chaplains Finnegan at Schofield Barracks has a trace of humor. The Japanese attack resulted in many wounded airmen, and he quickly headed for the hospital to minister to them. Some of the wounded were so covered with blood, he later recounted, that he could not easily recognize them if he met them a second or third time. Early the next morning while still making his rounds he urged one lad to "go to confession." The young man answered, "I have father—this is the third time you've been here!"³⁶

Reflecting on his experience as a prisoner of war for forty-two months, including sailing to Japan on the Hell Ships, Chief of Chaplains Taylor summed up the most important lesson he learned this way: "I learned to be myself and to meet every day's responsibility." He also learned that will power and faith go hand in hand, he said.³⁷

During the Berlin Airlift in 1948 AF planes hauled over 6,000 tons a day for more than six months. Chaplains ministered to crews and families and administered the Casualty Assistance program.

The Korean War fully tested the resources of the chaplaincy. A rapid build-up was required to nearly double the number of chaplains. An involuntary recall of Reserve chaplains between June 1951 and June 1952 brought 53% of them to duty, exhausting the available pool. Rabbinical organizations and related seminaries required Jewish rabbis to accept a 2-year period of service as chaplains. A heavy concentration of Jewish personnel in medical, dental, and other fields due to an educational funding program resulted in large Jewish programs at many bases.

Some chaplains carried very heavy loads during the war. One was supposed to cover a base with a filled 250 bed hospital, four sub-bases up to 83 miles away (one with no air transportation), and Iwo Jima. A chaplain in Korea visited as many as nineteen locations, one on an island behind enemy lines. Of 1,061 chaplains on active duty in October 1953, 127 were serving in Far East Air Force.

Chief of Chaplains Carpenter helped organize the ROKAF chaplaincy together with AF chaplains serving in Korea. In 1953 he presented scarves to six ROKAF chaplains and provided some supplies. The ROKAF Chief of Staff was a Christian although most personnel were Buddhist. Two ROKAF clergy attended the AF Chaplain School 1957.

Vietnam was the nation's longest war. Chaplain ministry functioned out of bases in Vietnam and adjacent countries in Southeast Asia. Ministry went on 24-hours a day. At U-Tapao RTAFB chaplains participated in hundreds of B-52 briefings each month in 1970, up to twelve a day. PACAF chaplains had great difficulty meeting these requirement for SAC crews, which lacked their own SAC chaplains. The Linebacker II operation in

³⁶Finnegan Interview.

³⁷Taylor Interview.

December 1972 placed very heavy demands on the chaplain team at U-Tapao. By 1972 SAC chaplains were going to Guam for 60-day tours.

An important element in the chaplain program was interaction with civilian churches and institutions, including humanitarian support of many different kinds. Several bases arranged an interchange of choirs with Vietnamese Christians. Humanitarian programs continued under the leadership of chaplains even after the civic action program became an independent function. Projects included clothing distribution, monetary gifts, support for hospitals, orphanages, leprosaria, converts, schools, the purchase of buildings and land, work on religious facilities, and others.

The first AF chapel built in Vietnam was at Cam Ranh Bay. Constructed out of local O&M resources and dedicated on Christmas Eve in 1965, it was the first "permanent" building at the base. A rocket and fire destroyed the "old chapel" at Tan Son Nhut in the Tet offensive of 1968. President Nixon's plan for "Vietnamization" included the turnover of Chapel 2 at DaNang to the Vietnamese Air Force in 1971.

As one solution to chapel shortages modular movable chapels were used. Some weighed 120 tons and were about 90' \times 32' in size, with an adjacent 54' \times 23' office structure. Others were of different sizes and weights. A total of nine were in service in mid-1971 at overseas installations, but civil engineering teams registered strong opposition to these chapels. Eventually one was relocated from Binh Thuy, ROV to Athens, Greece, and another from Don Muang, Thailand to Kunsan, Korea.

As American troops withdrew from Vietnam the number of Air Force personnel fell swiftly from 58,000 at the end of 1969 to 29,000 in 1971 and 10,000 by October 1972. Simultaneously the number of personnel in Thailand increased appreciably. When the cease fire agreement was adopted in January 1973 eleven Air Force chaplains remained in Vietnam. The first to enter apparently had been Chaplain August C. Kilpatrick, who visited small outposts and sites to hold services for Air Force, Army, Navy and Marine personnel in 1961. By June 1970, 257 chaplains had served or were serving in Southeast Asia for six months or more and 29 for shorter periods, composing 25% of all active duty chaplains. There were 77 in Southeast Asia at the time. By June 1971 the total increased to 353 (31% of the force), and 60 remained in Southeast Asia. By December 1971 fifty-seven chaplains remained in Southeast Asia and 35% of the force had served there. By December 31, 1973, twenty-five remained in Thailand, where chaplains served until the last chapel closed in June 1976.

Chaplains were on hand at Clark AB and subsequent CONUS bases to minister to the first POWs released in 1973. After his release Brigadier General John P. Flynn, commander of the prisoner wing in Hanoi, noted that each message issued by the wing policy group was signed "G.B.U.," for "God Bless You." One of seven basic wing policies was, "It is neither American nor Christian to nag a repentant sinner to the grave." Three former POWs entered the Air Force chaplaincy.

In 1983 AF chaplains participated in the Grenada operation ordered by President Reagan. Mobility and readiness training proved to be important, and the chaplaincy learned some significant lessons in the operation.

Conclusion

Poetry speaks louder than prose. The ability to offer poetry in prose is rare. At the recent dedication of a memorial tree honoring the USAF Chaplain Service at the Air Force Museum, Reserve Chaplain Richard H. Thomas used that gift well. Portions of his remarks conclude this brief history of the Air Force chaplaincy because they hint at the story behind the story.

Introducing his theme, Chaplain Thomas said:

We come to this place to do what members of our profession have so often done before us. We come to honor our comrades and our tradition by investing a living thing with memories of a past so that we not forget those upon whose shoulders we stand. We do not take for granted their contribution to our country and the ministry they entrusted to us. We bind the living symbol of this tree to the past and to the dead. Such is our privilege as we make a memorial, as we consecrate this place, and add to its beauty both now and for the years to come.

He then reviewed the many kinds of heroes in many ages who gave the "last full measure of devotion," or suffered the crushing soul burdens of war prisons, or gave a life trying to save a drowning man. "Yes, our memorial speaks of heroes who paid The Great Price and who remind us that our heritage is bought in part by blood and sacrifice." The Heroes of the Dream, on the other hand, were the founders who laid out the foundations of the chaplaincy so clearly that they could not be forsaken. He continued:

We also memorialize here the Heroes of the Spirit. Gathered about us are the host of those who ministered in war and peace. They brought healing and grace to the dying, the lonely, the confused, and those in need of the Water of Life. How can we end a litany of ministry that encompasses the full dimensions of the life experience across the years, around the world, and in so many circumstances? Shall we recall chaplains standing before rude altars in the jungles of the Pacific, or the briefing rooms of Europe? Shall we begin to number the caskets in the earth place there with final words of hope and triumph uttered by chaplains? Can we list the widows comforted by chaplains in their grief? Or is there a way to assess the influence of our ministry on families as they struggle to cope with the impact of Air Force mission? Will the chapel manager who organized a mercy mission to Vietnamese orphans stand up to remind us of the compassion of Chaplain Service personnel to the victims of war? Who will acknowledge the hero of the spirit who braved the mortar attack to keep his appointed rounds in the hospital or along the parameter fence in Vietnam? Which one of the thousands gathered in chapels will speak of the power of the pulpit to set life in perspective and to call forth some Divine Healing? Is there a chapel volunteer who will call the name of a chapel manager, whose patient coaching and friendship inspired them to higher service? . . . The quiet ministry of caring is never drowned out by the roar of aircraft engines nor silenced by the din of war. Its source is the eternal and abiding presence of God. Our profession has its sung and unsung heroes whose faithfulness in the past creates our meeting today. It is our heritage and our burden for the call to us is clear. We best honor our dead and our living Lord by daily faithfulness to our holy calling. . . . Thanks be to God who in all times and all places raises up men and women to proclaim the truth in love, and in our time has blessed us with the grand heritage of Air Force chaplain ministry. So be it.³⁸

³⁸Historical Perspective, Remarks at the Dedication of the Memorial Tree, Air Force Museum, Wright-Patterson AFB, OH, September 6, 1989, by Chaplain, Colonel, Richard H. Thomas, USAFR.

History Of The National Conference On Ministry To The Armed Forces

David Chambers

Editor's note: this is a speech given by Dr. Chambers to the NCMAF convention on 6 December 1988 in Washington DC.

A good number of years ago I was stationed in the Navy as a chaplain out in San Diego at the Naval Training Center. Upon on the hill from Gate 6 of the Training Center was a large supermarket. If any of you know that area, it was at the corner of Voltaire and Chatsworth Streets. One Saturday night the supermarket was burglarized and robbed. According to the newspapers, the thieves made off with a sizable amount of cash and with all of the checks that the customers had used to pay for the groceries that they had received that day. What the thieves didn't realize was that there was one check that was as fraudulent as a three dollar bill and would have bounced as high as the overhead on this room. It had been written, of all things, by a Navy wife for \$86.00 worth of groceries. She wrote the check and didn't have a dime in the bank.

When she recognized that in all probability her check was among those checks taken by the thieves, and when she realized, secondly, he would never sign his name on the back of it and cause it to be processed, and when she realized, finally, that the check would have accomplished everything she had desired it to—paid her bill; never to be charged against a bank account that didn't exist—she came into the chaplain's office, casually strolled across the floor, sat down in an easy chair, leaned back and confidently said "Chaplain, isn't it marvelous how God works!"

I wish I had with me today all those who were intimately involved in the creation of this Conference and its predecessor Conference. I am confident that everyone of them would say as they look out on this assembly, "It's marvelous how God has worked".

Chaplain David Chambers entered the Navy during World War II, served as a chaplain stateside, shipboard, overseas and with the Marines. He retired from the service in 1970. In December 1983 he retired as director of the Presbyterian Council for Chaplains after 13 years as an endorser. During this time he was an architect and first chairman of the Conference of Ecclesiastical Endorsing Agents, the forerunner of National Conference on Ministry to the Armed Forces.

You have given to me quite an assignment today—to review the early history of this group. In my own thoughts, I have divided it into three subheads: The birth of a New Idea; The Search for a New Structure; and Success Required a New Beginning.

The Birth of a New Idea

We all know that from the very earliest times of the Continental Army and the Continental Navy, chaplains have served the Armed Forces of our country. But we also know that in those early days they flowed on and off of active duty with almost no supervision from, or accountability to any religious institution. Indeed, it was not until 1901, when the ecclesiastical endorsement was created, first in the Army and then in the Navy, that there was any continuing communication between the religious institutions of our country and the institution of the military.

In 1917, with the influx of many chaplains on active duty for the first World War, two significant agencies came into being: the Military Ordinariate of the Roman Catholic Church in New York City, and the General Commission for Army and Navy Chaplains in Washington, D.C. The significance of the Military Ordinariate was that for the first time within a religious institution of our country an agency in the structure of that religious organization was designated for the ecclesiastical support and supervision of the chaplains of that particular communion. The significance of the General Commission was that it became the voice of Protestantism within the Armed Forces for the next half century. It eventually encompassed 38 Protestant communions and joined them together in a common, effective, unified declaration.

We can never overestimate and we must never underestimate the significance of the General Commission for Army and Navy Chaplains in the ministry to the military. It was that agency, more than any other, that crusaded for the establishment of a Chaplains Service in the Army and a Chaplains Corps in the Navy. It was that organization, more than any other, that pressed for a Chief of Army Chaplains and a Chief of Navy Chaplains commensurate with the Chiefs of other staff services in those branches of the service. And it was the General Commission, more than any other organization, that crusaded for flag rank for those Chiefs to give to them an appropriate stature for the Chaplaincies of the services. We can never overestimate, and we must never underestimate what it meant to bring 38 voices of endorsing agents together to speak unofficially to the Armed Forces of our country.

After the second World War, however, things were changing dramatically. The number of faith groups authorized to provide chaplains in the military had tremendously increased. By the year 1970, there were 100 religious groups authorized to place chaplains in the reserves and on active duty. Many of these endorsing agents, however, were spread out across the country and the only contact they had with Washington, D.C. was by long distance telephone line. They needed information on the whole process of endorsement. So, in 1971, the Chiefs of Chaplains of the three services

instituted semi-annual conferences. They would invite the endorsers to come to Washington to discuss procurement procedures, retention, accessions, promotions, and so forth; and we needed that desperately.

It was the first time that this had happened, but, you remember, that those were traumatic times, extremely traumatic. As the Old Testament scripture writer would have said: "We were standing in the very swelling of Jordan". The clamor against the Vietnam War was rising, the decibels against the military were increasing, and the endorsing community was in the midst of it. Many of the churches were on the forefront of the criticism of the military chaplaincy. They knew that the one way they could reach out and touch the military was through the control that they exercised over their chaplains.

Therefore, these semi-annual meetings gave to us an opportunity to bridge the gap between the churches and the chaplaincies. In the best sense of the words, we were able to speak pastorally and prophetically to the chiefs and to explain to them the thinking of the churches regarding the chaplaincies. Many of the churches were calling for a moratorium on all ecclesiastical endorsements. They were calling for a demilitarization of the chaplaincy. Some of them were calling for a complete abandonment of the present system and a civilianization of the chaplaincy. We were the bridge between the churches and the chaplaincy, so we welcomed and the Chiefs welcomed the opportunity to meet in March and October in these conferences.

Yet we know that the conferences were not all that they really could be. Attendance was sporadic and moderate. There was no continuity from one conference to another. The subject material was often somewhat superficial, less than profound; but I think what we as endorsers missed most of all was the fact that we were not the creators of any part of the agenda. We were the objects of it. We had no opportunity among ourselves to discuss those problems that were unique and distinctive to us. Oh, some of us would dream dreams and envision visions of the times when there might be a loosely knit, ad hoc collegium of all the endorsers, but that was on the agenda somewhere far down the road. Back in those days we were completely fragmented.

Then on the 18th and 19th of March 1976, one of these semi-annual conferences was planned. Indeed, it was right here in this building. This was a new Sheraton National in those days and we were next door in the adjacent room. We had requested of the Chiefs that we be given the morning hours for our own discussions and this was something brand new. We had never had the opportunity to speak together by ourselves. The Chiefs were to come in after the lunch. The Chairman pro tem was Reverend Ed Swanson, the Director of the General Commission. He called on Rabbi Gilbert Kollin for the invocation. After the prayer, he threw the meeting open for plenary discussion of anything we wanted to put on an agenda to have the Chiefs of Chaplains respond to in the afternoon session.

Immediately, Dr. Purnell Bailey, the Executive Director of the United Methodist Church Commission, rose on the floor and said, "I have a motion that I would like to present". Now this was unusual because we

were not given to parliamentary procedures. We had no parliament back in those days. We had no organization whatsoever. Dr. Bailey's motion was this. He said, "I move that this group of endorsing executives organize itself into a body to be called the General Council of Endorsing Agents, to meet semi-annually with the three Chiefs of the Armed Forces Chaplaincies".

There was silence in the room. No one had anticipated, no one had the slightest inkling that this motion was going to be offered. It came out of nowhere. We were absorbing what he had proposed. The motion was magnetic. It immediately drew the imagination of every endorser who was present in that plenary session. One endorser arose and said he thought the Veteran Administration Chaplains ought to be included in this with the VA Chief. Another endorser said, "No, we will have to put together a planning committee to implement this motion if it passes—let them decide". Another endorser said he thought it was a little premature to name the baby before it had been delivered. Dr. Bailey, very wisely, withdrew the proposed name that he had suggested because there was one word in that name that might have scuttled the whole procedure. Another endorser said that he saw no reason to heap another organization upon us. He would not oppose it, but he would abstain from voting. We had an effervescent and lively discussion, I would say for 40 to 45 minutes, and then someone called for the question and the vote was taken. There was one abstention with unanimous affirmation of the motion.

The motion, again, was that this group of endorsing executives "organize"—that's the operative word—organize. You see, we had never been united before. We didn't even know each other. The General Commission knew itself, the NAE knew itself; but they didn't know each other. Endorsers from the outside would come into the meeting and spend the time and depart. We never became acquainted with them. Now, we were to organize into a body to meet semi-annually with the three Chiefs of the Armed Forces Chaplaincies.

1776–1976. During the span of 200 years, we hadn't come very far actually; but in the span of a decade, the community of endorsers had come a tremendous distance. The time was ripe; the need was apparent; and a new idea had just been born. I think I might say again: it was marvelous how God was working in the group.

Now we faced our second and perhaps major challenge.

The Search for a New Structure

You know, chaplains, for the most part are not overly concerned about the faith group of their parishioners, and, I think we can say, the parishioners in the military are not overly concerned about the faith group of their chaplain. I had a clerk at my last duty assignment in the Navy who was, next to myself, the most abominable speller in his world. One time he brought to me a letter which he had just typed for my signature. As I read it through, I said, "Bob, when you are in doubt about the spelling of a word, why in the world don't you look it up in the dictionary?" His response to me was, "Chaplain, I'm never in doubt". Well, one day a man put his head into my

clerk's office and said, "What's the faith group of the chaplain, what's his denomination, what church does he belong to?" Good old Bob scratched his head and said, "Now let me see. It starts with a 'P'. That's it", he said, "Piscopalian". Well, he was wrong on two counts.

Chaplains don't care about the faith group of their people and the people don't care about the faith groups of the chaplain—but ecclesiastical endorsing agents do, and rightfully so. As soon as that motion was passed, another endorser arose and said that he recommended that the Chairman *pro tem* present a slate of six names of endorsers to serve on the planning task force. Ed Swanson, therefore, after lunch brought in, very wisely, a list of eight names in order to provide for ample appropriate faith group diversity.

The eight persons named serve on the planning Task Force put the Conference together were

Bishop James Killeen, Military Ordinariate, Roman Catholic Church
Rabbi Joel Balsam of the JWB (Jewish Welfare Board)

Father George Papademitriou of the Eastern Orthodox group of churches

Mr. Floyd Robertson of the National Association of Evangelicals

Chaplain Bill Clark of the Southern Baptist Convention

Chaplain Mag Lutness of the Lutheran Council

Reverend Harold Haines of the American Council of Christian Churches and myself, representing the General Commission.

We were a microcosm of the larger community of endorsers. We decided that we would meet for these planning sessions in the office of the Lutheran Council down at L'Enfant Plaza. They had the plushiest offices in Washington. They were beautiful and they offered to serve us lunches while we continued to work. Little did they realize how many lunches they were going to be providing to this planning group.

Little did we realize the magnitude of the task of bringing over 100 organizations together, with no prior format, into one working body. We thought that first and foremost we had to design a plan that would be acceptable to the endorsers. We soon discovered that what we really needed to do was plan a design acceptable to the parent religious institutions back in Centerville or wherever. They were the ones that were going to have to sanction our participation in this group. We went into it very naively. We were ignorant of the positions of so many of our colleagues.

We thought that we could come together and talk about "Constitution and Bylaws". Not at all. That implied allegiance. We had to talk about guidelines.

We thought we could come together and talk about "membership in". Not at all. That implied affiliation. We had to talk about "representation to".

We thought that we could talk about "ecumenism". No way. That implied mutual acceptance. We had to talk about "religious pluralism".

When it came to the point of finding a name for the organization, we pondered "Association", "Council", "Convention", "Commission". No.

All of those names implied “belonging to”, and if this religious group “belonged to”, then that religious group could not “belong to”.

Therefore, we had to find a term that was non-binding for all of us. On Monday morning quarterbacking, it seems so obvious; “Conference”: a forum, a time for discussion, a place for dialogue. I can recite this to you in a minute and a half, but I could not begin to tell you in an hour and a half of the avenues that we walked down to come to “Conference”. The Conference of what? I think even if we had thought of, (which we didn’t,) “National Conference on Ministry to the Armed Forces”, it would not have been acceptable, because we were on the bare bones, bottom level of what we were all about.

Then, one endorser seated around the table said, “Well, let me suggest, in the vernacular of today, that we just tell it like it is. We are a Conference of Ecclesiastical Endorsing Agents for the Armed Forces,” and that became the name of the predecessor Conference to this one. Joel Balsam, however, of the JWB said, “There are going to be one hundred thousand persons out there who have absolutely no idea what an ecclesiastical endorsing agent is, so let’s put a subscription under our title in italics or in quotation marks: ‘involved with the spiritual and moral welfare of military personnel.’” Not “moral and spiritual”. Everybody says moral and spiritual the way they say bread and butter and salt and pepper. Turn it around and it becomes a little more attention-gathering. The spiritual should come before the moral anyway. Every piece of correspondence that went out from our office to the churches, to Congress, to the Chaplaincies, to whomever, carried that subscription. If I may leap ahead by a good number of years for just a footnote: The inspiration for the present name of this organization, National Conference on Ministry to the Armed Forces, was that line; involved with the spiritual and moral welfare of military personnel.

But now the major challenge was yet ahead of us. What was going to be the relationship of endorser to endorser? Would we vote by agency or would we vote by representative? If an agency had five representatives and only one came to the meeting, could that one bring in his vest pocket the votes for the other four and cast them on the floor? One agency had supervision over 300 chaplains and another agency has supervision over 3 chaplains. What would the equity be? Would one be more equal than another? This question was really the most significant question that we had to ponder, because a misdirection on this decision could have shattered the Conference. We were very fragile in those days. We eyesected it, bisected it and dissected it. We looked at this subject from every angle.

Let me remind you again of the composition of the representatives named to that planning group: Bishop Jim Killeen of the Military Ordinate of the Roman Catholic Church and Reverend Harold Haines representing the American Council of Christian Churches, a clergyman, I understood, of the Presbyterian Church of America. Here was the Roman Catholic Church with two thousand years of history; and here was the Presbyterian Church of America with two years of history. Here was the Roman Catholic Church with one hundred million communicant members: here was the PCA with about fifty thousand. Here was the Roman Church with one third of all of

the chaplains on active duty, about one thousand: here was the Presbyterian Church of America with two chaplains on active duty. What would the voting power be?

I'll never forget it. Jim Killeen was seated just opposite me at the table. He was not one given to parliamentary procedure, so he said, "Dave, let me make a suggestion. I am going to suggest that every representative who comes to a meeting possess one vote." That was it! We were over the hurdle and everyone of us around the table knew it. The one who had the most to sacrifice, Jim Killeen of the Military Ordinariate, had given to us complete equality, complete voting parity, from the largest to the smallest agency.

After we had finished all our work of the administrative type, we moved over to the Purposes and Responsibilities of the Conference Guidelines. I wish that I could go through all of them because every Purpose and every Responsibility on that list has its own little biography and its own little story. Floyd Robertson, who sat on that committee, knows whereof I speak. The Purposes and Responsibilities are divided into four sections. The first one deals with the Conference as an area for dialoguing, for communicating among ourselves. The Conference was also an interchange for information from the Chiefs to ourselves. The Conference was also an interchange for information from the Chiefs to ourselves, from our churches, etc. Those are statements two, three and four. Then the Conference as it deals with the institution of the chaplaincy are statements five and eight. The Conference in relationship to us ecclesiastical endorsers and to the chaplains are statements six and seven.

Let me give to you an example of one statement's development. We had just come through this lengthy discussion on voting and we had opted in favor of equality among us all. But then the practical question arose. Here is Endorser A and here is Endorser B. Endorser A has supervision over 300 chaplains. If he rises in the Conference to speak, he is going to be heard when he says that his chaplains have a problem. But here is Endorser B with three chaplains. If he stands up to speak in the Conference, will he be heard with the same intensity? When Endorser A goes in to talk to the Chief of Chaplains of the Army, Navy or Air Force, he will receive an audience. But here is Endorser B with only three chaplains. He approaches the Chief to talk about one of his chaplains. Will he receive the same attention?

So we wrote statement number six: "To foster within the Conference an understanding of and a concern for the welfare and interest of every endorsing agency. . . ." Therefore, if that gentlemen speaks to a Chief of Chaplains and he does not receive appropriate attention, it is the concern of all of us, not on the merits of the case per se, but because he is one of the endorsers.

We also wanted to say something about the chaplains. Any chaplain who has served on active duty knows that there are three main dangers for a chaplain. These are my own terms. The first is "ecclesiastical amnesia"; the second is "ecclesiastical homogenization"; and the third is "astigmatism". "Ecclesiastical amnesia" occurs when a chaplain reports to active duty and very soon forgets the faith group that nurtured, trained, endorsed, and

ordained him or her. That becomes a tragedy in the ministry of that chaplain. "Ecclesiastical homogenization" occurs when a chaplain goes to active duty and for the first time rubs shoulders with ministers of other faith groups, and those doctrines and tenets and traditions of that particular chaplain may be eroded away as he or she becomes homogenized into a large group of nothingness. That's a tragedy for a chaplain. And when a chaplain loses the focus of his or her ministry—why he was ordained or why she was endorsed to come into the ministry—that's "astigmatism". And that becomes a tragedy for that chaplain and for the chaplaincy itself.

The chaplain may not care about the faith groups of the parishioners and parishioners may not care about the faith group of the chaplain, but the chaplain sure better know who he or she is: his own identity and her own integrity. Therefore we wrote on the end of statement number six: "To foster within the Conference an understanding of and a concern for the welfare and interest of every endorsing agency—and to protect the chaplain's denominational integrity." That's a concern of the Conference.

When we had finished all of this work, and it was tedious all summer long, we took the Guidelines to each Chief of Chaplains and went through every statement. We wanted them to know that this was not an adversarial group; this was an advocacy group. We were not contentious. We wanted to be in a trust relationship, and we were at that time. Then we took the Guidelines to the October meeting of our plenary session which met at Andrews Air Force Base and the vote was taken. There was not one abstention. It was a unanimous affirmation. The search for a new structure was complete, and the Conference of Ecclesiastical Endorsing Agents for the Armed Forces had come into being.

Success Required a New Beginning

We had our March meeting on the 17th and 18th of March 1977 in the Holiday Inn, Crystal City. It was a little less expensive than this place. We had no budget, no money, no staff, nothing! The meeting room was about two-thirds the size of this and we sat around tables in an open box. The room was jammed. We had never had as many endorsers present as we had at that meeting. The agenda had been planned meticulously. We had set 30 minutes for self introductions which began at my right and proceeded around the box. The farther it went, however, the more loquacious the endorsers became. It went on and on and when some of the Southern endorsers got going with their humorous stories, it was catastrophic for the agenda. Two hours we spent introducing ourselves. But it was congealing; it brought us together.

This was the first time that many of us had heard the names of some of the other endorsers. We just did not know them. They came to previous meetings and they went home. The General Commission members did not know the NAE people and the NAE didn't know the General Commission. Only the Washington group knew each other. One endorser said to me afterward—and I'm not going to tell you the faith group—"Dave", he said, "I

never thought I could have sat next to a man of that faith group and had such a meaningful and marvelous meeting together with him”.

Do you remember the blue box that we had? It was a three foot cube box that we had conned the Navy Exhibit Center out of for projecting 35mm slides. Inside we put a Kodak projector to project onto a screen. We had taken pictures of all of the endorsing agents in October and we had collected many others of endorsers—head, neck, and shoulders. We had a continual run tape recorder with a speaker on top of the blue box and it activated the slides. On the tape there was a thirty second biography of each endorser. We started this before the meeting and at coffee and lunch breaks. Everyone gathered around to see the pictures and to hear the names and biographies of their colleagues. The Chiefs of Chaplains and their staffs listened in order to get to know us. When you get to know people, you appreciate them; and the more you appreciate them, the more you can work together with them.

We left that first meeting on a high note. About two months later I received a telephone call from the Pentagon. The word was that Congress had drastically cut the funding for the Reserve Program of the Army, Navy and Air Force. Category D Pay billets were going to be eliminated. That meant that most all of our chaplains in the Reserve Program were to be cut on funding. We went into high gear. I cannot begin to recount all that happened. We made contacts with the churches, contacts with the Pentagon, contacts with Congress, with the Senate and with the House Armed Forces Committees, and we attended the joint conference meeting.

About twelve months later another phone call came from the Pentagon saying, “Reverend, call off your churches. You have won. No reduction in Category D for the chaplains”. One Congressman said that he had never received as much mail on a single subject as he received for the justification of paying ministers serving in the reserves.

Two months after that first meeting, I received another call from the Navy Chief of Chaplains. He was hosting a Conference in London of all of the Chiefs of Chaplains of the fifteen NATO countries. He wanted to demonstrate to them how, in this nation that prides itself on the separation of church and state, the churches work together so effectively in the ministry to the military. He wanted the chairman of the Conference to go to London and speak on this pluralistically diverse religious organization that had been created. We went. The first instance was a testimony of how corporate voices united together have an impact. This occasion was a testimony to the trust that the Chiefs had in our group.

About three or four months after the first meeting, another phone call came from the Pentagon. Five faith groups were indicating that they might want to place chaplains on active duty: The Church of Ancient Wisdom, The Universal Life Church, The Hare Krishners, The B’hai, and the Echanhar. The question: would the endorsing community study DOD Directive 1304.19, “The Nomination of Chaplains for Military Ministry”, and develop criteria for approving a faith group as an endorsing agency. We formed a committee with Norm Folkers as the chairman. It worked through the study, presented its findings to the plenary session of the Conference for approval and forwarded it then to the Pentagon. Although that Directive has

been through a number of revisions, I still see the vocabulary that this Conference put into it. That effort was a testimony of the Pentagon's confidence in the work that the Conference could do.

But success required a new beginning. The Conference of Ecclesiastical Endorsing Agents had ascended; the General Commission had deteriorated. In March 1980, the General Commission for Chaplains and Armed Forces Personnel, as it was then known then, approached the Conference with recommendations that both join together in a joint study on the future of both organizations. The representatives to the Conference could not understand why. The members of the General Commission knew exactly why. Nine persons from each group served on the study task force.

The following year the task force brought its recommendations: That on the 31st of December 1981 the General Commission for Chaplains would dissolve and go out of business, and on the 31st of December 1981 the Conference of Ecclesiastical Endorsing Agents for the Armed Forces would likewise dissolve and go out of existence. A new Conference would come into being. Its name would be The National Conference on Ministry to the Armed Forces. The Guidelines would be the Guidelines of the previous Conference. All of the tangible property of the General Commission would become the property of the Conference. Their office had been located in downtown Washington in a magnificent building, which had been a private home, near the capitol. It had been sold to John R. Mott Foundation for \$305,000.00. Every month you receive mortgage payment from that sale. Their total bank account became your bank account. All of the office furniture became your furniture and the magnificent library that they possessed on the chaplaincy is now your library. Success had required a new beginning and a new Conference was born.

I can say without any hesitation that everything that was done was carried on in a spirit of prayer. We began every meeting and ended every committee meeting, that I was related to, in prayer. The first devotional of our Conference was on the story in the Book of Ezekiel, the valley of the dry bones. But for most of us that sat around the planning table as we designed the Conference, I believe that I can say confidently, there was one text in the scriptures that was of greatest significance. It is in the Acts of the Apostles, the fifth chapter, the 38th and 39th verses. Now this is a Chambers' free translation: "If this thing be of man, it's going to collapse; but if this undertaking be of God, there is nothing that can stand in the way of its success".

I think I can say again: It's marvelous, it's really marvelous how God has worked. Thank you and God bless you all in His ministry.

Frail Children of Dust

Charles E. Wilson

We are now in Germany. Geographically there is no sudden change in the land, the scenery, or the people. When we pass a sign that tells us we are in Germany, we just keep on going; our destination is Berlin.

While the Third Army and our Fourth Armored Division bypasses Bitburg to advance to high ground overlooking the Kyll River, the stout barrier before the middle Rhine River, we minister at the 46th Medical Battalion Aid Station, located in a corner building in Bitburg.

Spokesmen for both the 9th and 3rd Armies express belief that clean-cut break-thrus have been achieved. Prisoners captured in February alone pass 80,000; the total since D-Day approaches 930,000.

On February 27th, on the 14th day of a concerted blitz, 6,397 tons of bombs ripped the Reich in a great aerial assault. Two vast armadas of Flying Fortresses dropped their bombs in the greatest massed aerial assault ever delivered. They hit fighter factories, and the rail centers of Leipzig, Halle, and Mainz.

Allied Forces in Western Europe and Italy flew 54,767 sorties over German territory and dropped a total of 76,767 tons of bombs, or 6,397 daily.

This brings the total weight of high explosives dropped on German-held territory since the beginning of the war to well over one million four hundred thousand tons, a fantastic total that can be appreciated only in the light of what a single one thousand pound bomb can do to a large city!

Puzzled veterans of the London Blitz and sizzling Stuka raids on the battlefronts of bygone days, wonder how "can they take it?"

The answer obviously is that they can take it for exactly the same reason that London took it. There is not anything they can do about it.

Despite my occasional reference to environmental beauty in this land, I would not want anyone to think we are on a tourist trip in Germany.

Although we have available maps of the country, in combat areas, signs to identify map sites are not safe guides, for the Germans and their

Charles Wilson is a retired American Baptist pastor and author, formerly with Moody Press. He is a veteran of World War II, having served in the 4th Armored Division as a combat infantryman and then chaplain's assistant. He and his wife now live in South Haven Michigan. This chapter is excerpted from his unpublished novel of the same title.

sympathizers often twist the signs around. The road to Berlin could in reality be the road to Paris. That's not a bad idea, but it would not win the war.

Our troops are part of a gigantic transmission belt, a line of vehicles of every sort: jeeps, trucks, ambulances, tanks, half-tracks, staff cars, self-propelled weaponry, mess trucks, and more trucks, functional to the needs of the troops.

The lines of vehicles extend from various ports, in our case, LeHavre, continuous and connected, stretching eastward towards Berlin.

In a way, for us, it is a game of follow the leader, and woe to that leader if he loses his way! The leaders must have pretty good maps, and we have confidence in them, whoever they may be?

From the time one lands by boat on French soil, until he arrives at the Front, one is amazed at the great number of soldiers everywhere. Everyone is in a hurry. Everyone has an important job to do. Everyone wants to get it done as quickly as possible and go home.

This great amount of equipment and numbers of men are the life-line that holds an Army together. The caterpillar crawl of the line must not be broken. The lives of countless numbers of Armed Forces personnel depend upon a proper distribution of all supplies and human re-enforcements.

I have used the word, "Front," that is a descriptive word of World War I vintage. A better word would be, "Spearhead," a word that describes driving force swiftly moving on a narrow path.

The Fourth Armored Division is a fire-torch burning its way thru the debris of bombed and staffed towns and cities. The path is strewn with the dead, who in death bear all the signs of life.

You turn to ask a question. The answer you get is the sight of blood flowing from the mouth of a buddy, his answer.

Blood and guts slide out of ripped bodies and lay separate from the corpse.

At first I turn my eyes from the carnage, but after a while, the sight becomes commonplace, except to see whether the body is American or German.

The sickening odor of burnt buildings and barns assail one's nostrils. Cattle are seen lying on their backs with legs stretched stiff towards the sky.

Around bombed houses can be seen the domestic paraphernalia, such as, bedding, chairs, tables, dishes, clothing, etc., scattered amidst smoking ruins.

If an Infantryman sees something of value, he picks it up. Soon he is loaded down with precious valuables, but upon leaving a village, one by one, he drops his precious cargo. They impede his progress, and limit his maneuverability. Then he remembers, the only thing of value is his own life, and to protect his life, he must travel light.

On the winding roads, trees are blasted and uprooted. Holes gape, and bomb-forced dirt is piled up in heaps around the fields.

On the bloody cutting edge, men live in fox-holes awaiting their order to move on into the face of the enemy.

The rumble of artillery is constant. Machine guns snappishly spit out their red tracers and invisible bullets in a steady stream of hot steel. Burp

guns are heard, mortars, bazookas, an occasional hand grenade, and the sharp snap of an M-1 rifle.

Ambulances marked with a Red Cross dart here and there picking up the wounded, evacuating them to rear areas.

The soldier is tired and dirty. Beards have sprouted from glassy-eyed faces. Everyone is jumpy; the flicker of fear is noticeable in the eyes of those who seek a better home.

In the sky above, cub-plane observers flit about like butterflies, searching for pockets of resistance, communicating by radio with ground troops.

Outwardly the scenes are ever-changing. One is hardly observant enough to take it all in. Inwardly one experiences emotions that are new and strange. There is wonderment at the thought of being there, of being alive. One feels to be in the midst of a great Cosmic mystery! Awesome!

I keep track of dates much better than I keep track of places. To keep track of dates, all I need to do is having the ability to count up to thirty, or thereabouts, and keep on doing it. Most of the time I know what time of day it is, and the day of the month; but I cannot often tell someone where we are, that is, what town. I know what country I am in, but that is no great feat, any dummy could tell one that!

Our first Worship Service this morning is in an untenanted beer hall, on its second floor.

While Chaplain Arnold does other things, I set up the Church Flag outside the door. I stack the hymn books on an empty beer barrel to be passed out to the incoming soldiers.

While waiting for the meeting to begin, I meander over to the window, or rather, a blown hole which once had been a window.

From my second story height I look down upon a typical village in the grip of war. The street is a cobble stone road, much chewed up by the heavy tracks of military vehicles. It winds thru the village like a snake. The buildings on both sides of the road are of one or two story in height and of rough brick. All of the buildings have been hit by shell fire.

To my right below, I see a Red Cross Flag identifying the Medical Station where casualties are brought in for first aid treatment and then sent further back behind combat lines for additional treatment.

Around the building are parked ambulances with huge Red Cross markings on their sides and roof.

Aid men pass thru the doors of the building, identified by helmets painted with a Red Cross and with the same insignia upon their upper sleeves.

Directly across the road there is a Company Command Post. It is a busy place. Many soldiers, and officers enter and exit in rapid succession.

Passing Army vehicles of every kind crowd the street and create an ear-splitting noise that is carried with great volume up to my window.

A truck stops in front of the Command Post. A guard steps from the cab of the truck and going to its rear, directs three German soldiers to get out.

I would have expected something better from Hitler and his heralded "master race!"

These soldiers are psychologically whipped. They are runty and unshaven, unlike the handsome, tall, blonde Nordic type pictured in books of German heroes.

They quietly do as they are told, moving ahead of the American guard, carrying their bedrolls on their shoulders. With the guard's carbine stuck in their backs, they walk into the Command Post to be interrogated.

As I observe the captured Germans, I remember another occasion near Bastogne when I stood on guard near a Command Post. It was bitterly cold as three German prisoners entered the Post to be interrogated. Apparently the Germans were not going to cooperate, for they were inside a long time.

Finally, the Command Post door opened and the prisoners, none the worse for the questioning, stood outside the door with a soldier guarding them.

They were barefooted.

Now, standing on snow and ice, with a skin-freezing wind blowing upon them, they stand and hop and prance around in circles without shoes.

Very soon they knock on the door and are welcomed in for further interrogation.

Sometime later, they re-appear. They are wearing their shoes and munching on a handful of food. The Army has its ways!

My reverie comes to an end as Chaplain Arnold calls our Worship Service to order.

Chaplain Arnold's sermon is entitled: "Secret Weapons," i.e., the Whole Armor of God, from the Book of Ephesians.

Arnold deserves a "Star" in his crown, for his speaking voice competes with the rattling sound of a pneumatic drill outside our glassless window.

His resonant baritone voice carries well. He delivers his sermon with reasonable spiritual benefit for those who listen.

I watch the young listeners. Their interest is clearly seen by the intensity of concentration recorded on their faces.

They know tomorrow may never come, and thinking beyond today, they have eternity in view. They understand the fleeting nature of human existence and the need to come to terms with it under the saving power of God's Love.

After the Worship Service we mount up and pick our way out of the village and back to our way station.

After lunch, we move out on another itinerary to the very edge of our fluid Division.

We drive directly into the hailstorm of destruction.

The melting snow has swollen the brooks and rivers. All the strategic bridges are bombed out. We cross the waters on bridges built by our Army Engineers.

We cross waterways on two kinds of bridges: a Bailey Bridge, which is pre-fabricated, and can be set up quickly, and a pontoon bridge, which is a bridge made up of separate pieces of thick, rubber, boat-like bags blown up with air, across which, planks are fastened.

We cross one bridge which is broken down but still offers sufficient

support to hold up our jeep. We cross another bridge on the side of which, we see the body of a dead German soldier, blown in half. He met his death in a vain attempt to defend or take that bridge, which of itself, was of minor importance.

We drive on to our destination, a large three story building housing a modern mill.

Our Worship Service will be held on the third floor. The windows are paneless. Soldiers are sitting on bags of grain. The room smells musty with the odor of the granary, but at the same time, it smells clean and healthy, suggesting the potentiality of life.

The room reminds me of chickens, clucking and laying eggs, and cows mooing with their heads imprisoned by the slats that hold them for milking.

I am reminded of the fertility of American farms, of the gentleness of home, the seasons of the year, and the peaceful ways of man.

As the Worship Service comes to a close, just before the Benediction, we hear the whining sound of a diving plane!

We sit, immobilized.

A mighty explosion rocks our building.

We relax. We look around. We are still here!

One soldier near a window shouts: "It's just a crater in the field now."

Many soldiers linger to chat. I meet again a few who shipped overseas with me. We swap stories. The Lieutenant comes to mind and his unforgettable moral and spiritual influence. I notice that at each meeting our reunion survivors are fewer and fewer.

"Anybody knows the whereabouts of Wilcox?" I inquire.

Someone thinks he is carrying the mail.

As I think of Wilcox and our remembered abortive conversations about our Savior, I rejoiced that Chaplain Arnold spoke extensively about heaven's reality and the eternal benefits of faith in Jesus as our Lord and Savior. The big bomb reminds us that the mercies of God are as ever present as the bombs of men.

We are billeted in the home of a sympathetic elderly couple of simple peasant stock. The language barrier does not hinder communication, nor surprises.

The hostess serves up waffles topped with whipped cream. The serving is so unexpected in this land of food shortages that it might just as well had been a miracle dropped down from heaven, like the Manna of old, when the Israelites were fed by God on their trek thru the Sinai Desert on their way to the Promised Land.

As I crawl into my sack for a good night's sleep, I count my blessings.

I feel accused, and almost guilty as the words, "Why me?" swirl in my head.

I carry on a conversation with the world at war. "Please don't press me about God's ways with men". I speak now, only to the meaning of my attitude. I have thought it once, and I will think it again in hopes that I will not offend anyone.

I may take the position that my survival is accidental, or, I may take the position that God really cares for me.

I would not presume upon the Grace of God and expect what I do not deserve; but neither would I deny His mercy by assuming He does not care for me.

Why me?

I would need to know the mind of God to answer that question. I feel humbled and unworthy, and in that light I see God's mercy and grace.

It is a privilege to serve God and man in my work. God loves us. He must have need of me in the work of His Kingdom.

The ways of God are past finding out. God works in mysterious ways His wonders to perform. The mystery is beyond me, but what I understand, and what I can do, is that I can be, and must be, in control of my own attitude towards God as I understand Him.

Tonight I am sitting in a German home requisitioned for our use until we move on.

Upstairs, the people who live here are saying the "Rosary," a Catholic evening devotion.

The German folks we contact are religious in the same way as those people we observed in France, Belgium and Luxembourg. Everywhere, the homes abound with Holy pictures, and Crucifixes.

I am bewildered? I ponder the thought: why, with so much evidence of religious devotion everywhere, has there been so much social unrest and war in Europe?

Our non-fraternizing rule forbids us to talk to the people upstairs, so we ignore them, which is hard to do, because I, for one, am drawn to their Cross!

Troubled and perplexed as I am, I spoke out of turn to Father O'Donnell. I sorrow that I may have seriously offended him.

By way of conversation and without forethought, I displayed my provincial and misguided religious prejudice. I said: "The reason I prefer not to be a Catholic is that I would not want to make a public confession to a priest."

In my spiritual stupidity I am not aware of the fact that the Confession is private, and that I attacked a central meaning of the Catholic Church.

Father O'Donnell turned to me kindly and said: "Confession is not public; it is private."

He hesitated, as though not sure he should continue. He came to me, put his hand softly on my shoulder, saying: "I once attended a Baptist Church revival meeting down south. At the end of the meeting great numbers of people went down to the front of the church, and if you will pardon my saying it, it looked like people were hanging their sins out on a line for everyone to see."

Father O'Donnell lifted his hand from my shoulder, turned and walked quietly away.

However we may have differed in our understanding of liturgical acts, I felt that his lifted hand bore away my sin of presumption and religious prejudice, so in that way, I may sin no more.

From that day on, I shifted my intellectual stance from that of making dogmatic statements about the Catholic Church, of which I knew practically nothing, to that of being an inquiring mind.

My succeeding days with Father O'Donnell became increasingly precious to me as we shared our love for Christ; instead of emphasizing our differences, our love and respect for one another in our service to others, became mutual and lasting.

Whenever possible, towards sun-down, Father O'Donnell stood amidst a soldier group of his traveling parishioners to engage in Rosary devotions; as I learned to understand and love those men, that time of devotion became a touching sight, warning my heart.

A letter to Loretta, dated February 28, 1945:

It has been a long time since I have received a letter from you or anyone else from home; nevertheless, I have been thinking of you today. I think of you as growing stronger every day in your faith in God, believing at the same time that God is going to bring us together again.

I read a poem by Carl Sandburg recently entitled: "Clean Hands." I share it with you. It inspires me.

It is something to face the sun and know you are free.
To hold your head in the shafts of daylight slanting the earth
And know your heart has kept the promise and the blood runs clean;
It is something
To go one day of your life among men with clean hands,
Clean for the day book today and the record of after days,
Held at your side proud, satisfied to the last and ready,
So to have clean hands;
God, it is something,
One day of a life so
And a memory fastened till the stars sputter out
And a love washed, as white as linen in the noon drying.
Yes, go find a man of clean hands one day and see life,
The memory, the love he has, to stay longer than the plunging sea
Wets the shores or the fires heaved under the crust of the earth,
Oh yes, clean hands is the chant and only one knows it's sob
And it's undersong and he lives clenching the secret more to him,
Of the love of a woman . . . and a clean heart too.

I am sure you write to me, but I am hurting. I have not received a letter from anyone since about January 10, 1944. Maybe my letters were lost at sea, or blown up in a mail truck hit by enemy gunfire enroute.

I keep on writing. I am waiting. Love, Chuck

A letter to mother and dad, dated February 28, 1945:

I write truthfully when I say everything is going well with me. We duck a few artillery shells now and then. The Germans are lousy shots.

I have not heard from you for a long time. How are you doing?

What's cooking at church? How is my little brother Vernon doing with his piano lessons? Who is his girl friend now?

Have you bought any new furniture lately? Any more fellows from church going into the Armed Forces?

Mostly I am concerned that you all remain well.

I pray for you every night. I know you pray for me.

Don't worry, I'll be home soon. Love, your son, Chuck.

Father O'Donnell plans to take Chaplain Arnold aside and tell him

about the birds and bees because Arnold is now 30 years old and he is old enough to know.

Mac suggests privately: "Let's give him an unforgettable birthday present, let's stuff his sleeping bag like we did before, with some cords of wood as he goes to the "growler."

I advise against it: "We are building a sweet and harmonious ecumenical spirit here. We don't want to become guilty of starting another 'Thirty Years Religious War' on the European continent, do we?"

I complain: "I will be the first object of his suspicion and bear all the load of our collective guilt. Is that fair?"

I carry my case further: "Remember what Arnold said about our previous unprovable trickery; It's not the principle of the thing, but the slivers!"

Standing firm to protect my boss's endangered feet, I finalize: "Nothing doing."

I paralyze the opposition.

Chaplain O'Donnell doesn't have much enthusiasm for the idea anyway. Mac lacks a sense of the creative; why return to the scene of our crime, and get caught!

Today, March 1, 1945, I am in a dark mood. I began a letter to Loretta expressing anger at my predicament, cussing the Army and generally fighting the whole world.

I mention my anger to Chaplain Arnold.

He replies: "Anger will get you nowhere. It hurts no one but you, and if you express it, you may hurt others. Why hurt your family? Keep your letters bright with good humor."

Then shifting his ground to a theological stance, he concludes: "If we are to be God's instruments in saving the world, we must begin with us. Do you hear me? us!"

I reply ungraciously: "I'll try to appreciate your interest and advice, but Loretta and I have agreed to share all our moods and feelings. We have agreed that we do not always need perfume and flowers in our letters; and we would not believe each other if we did always write so.

You know as well as I, there is very little perfume and flowers in this damn war!"

It's difficult to carry a black mood for a long time with these guys with whom I live.

Mac tries to humor me with a corny joke he thinks is funny; he might just as well saved his breath.

Then Chaplain O'Donnell comes by. Passing me, he raps me on the head and calls me a "sweet thing!"

Arnold responds to O'Donnell's saccharine remark: "If you want to talk to my employee like that, you have to go thru channels."

The contrived levity continues, much for my sake.

Mac and Arnold start a community-spirited coalition to convince O'Donnell that he ought to open all of his six packages he received in the mail today.

O'Donnell surrounds his wealth with a six-foot verbal fence: "Fellows, this war will last at least a couple more months. We ought not eat all

the contents of my six packages in one evening. Someone might get a tummy ache."

A roar of disapproval greets O'Donnell's gastronomical conservatism.

Mac fearlessly and recklessly replies: "Let's eat. Tomorrow may never come. Let's eat!"

I spot a spark of undecision in O'Donnell's eyes, but his opposition is spineless.

Arnold would negotiate: "Let's open just one package now."

Which we do.

While demolishing cookies Arnold observes the impropriety of serving dessert first. The Ettings would disapprove!

Arnold attacks O'Donnell's weak will from another angle. He reads into various labels unwritten adjectival additives of his own imagination, memories of past indulgences.

O'Donnell's resistance is as soft as a jelly fish.

I support Arnold's convincing demonstration of persuasion, I whisper: "Keep it up, you are a great tactician. You deserve the admiration of the whole known world."

My adulation loses some of its fervor as Arnold opens a can of sardines right under my nose, while Mac stands nearby slicing onions.

As I observe the kind, comic antics of my artful friends, I feel my depression leaving me. I am aware that I am not alone. I am aware that we need each other.

"Paraclete of God, stand by me!"

Arnold completes the rehabilitation of my dark mood by telling me that as of March 1, 1945, I am a Private First Class. I will receive an increase in pay of four dollars a month.

Wow! With that increase I may be on the way to become the President of the United States!

And today, being pay day, I receive 34 dollars in Belgian money.

Limitations On A Chaplain's Ministry— A Personal Reflection

Paul L. Vicalvi

Introduction

While studying in seminary I was asked a searching question by a friend who knew I intended to join the military chaplaincy: "How can you be a Christian and serve in the military, especially as a minister?"

After serving in a wonderful civilian parish for over 2 years, I applied for and received an active duty appointment as a Chaplain. I excitedly told the congregation the next Sunday. After the service, one well-meaning, loyal parishioner came up and asked, "Why are you leaving the ministry?"

I have been asked many times now during my 12 years as a Chaplain if I have ever been stopped from preaching the Gospel or hindered in any way from speaking about that which I believed. Some of those who asked had heard sad rumors that we were told what to say and not to say as Chaplains. There have been other questions asked me that have required some soul-searching through the years such as: "Why are some people disappointed when they come to military chapels?" or "Why can't the chapel be like my local church?" These are valid questions that well meaning worshipers often ask that deserve an honest answer from those who desire to bring "the Faith" to the variety of people we give spiritual leadership to, in our various assignments. But first of all we need to understand who we really are as Chaplains in service to our country and its people.

The Chaplaincy: A Unique Ministry

One does not have to serve as a Chaplain very long before he or she realizes that we are unique from our civilian counterparts in ministry. In the early days of our nation's history, the chaplaincy was established because of a felt need of our citizen soldiers and sailors for somewhat of the same kind of religious leadership and nourishment in wartime, that they were accustomed

Chaplain (Major) Paul Vicalvi is the Religious Education Officer at the Chaplaincy Services Support Agency in Washington, DC. He was educated at Houghton College, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, and Princeton Theological Seminary. He is endorsed by the American Baptist Church.

to in times of peace. In July of 1775, the Continental Congress put the chaplaincy on a legal, federal status and it became the responsibility of a regimental commander to procure his own chaplain and establish standards for him. It was not until an act of Congress in 1872 that federally established standards were mandated. The requirement for denominational endorsement or approval was enacted by congressional acts of 1899 and 1901 to give churches and synagogues control of their chaplain representatives. Thus the military Chaplain became a full-fledged clergyperson of his or her particular faith group, and at the same time a fully-qualified officer of his/her respective military service. During the Vietnam conflict the military chaplaincy came under very serious attack from some churches because there were many who felt that a chaplain condoned killing just by being part of the military establishment. Still, the majority of American faith groups have continued to share the responsibility of providing religious ministries for Americans in uniform and their families.

The fact that a Chaplain is first of all ordained and then endorsed by his or her denomination, and sent into the military as a special staff officer (without command) makes them rather unique. Withdrawal of their denominational endorsement terminates their military commission. Thus, their primary identification remains with their non-military institution and closely tied to the ecclesiastical guidelines for such things as marriage, baptism and church polity, while the majority of their time and energy is spent within the military establishment. The Chaplain has been described as a person who has one foot in heaven and the other in a combat boot. An understanding and appreciation of this institutional duality and its significance is a key to understanding both the problems and the opportunities of the chaplaincy. A Chaplain is fully a member of both institutions and participates in both institutions at the same time and thus is even different than other specialty groups such as doctors and dentists. The military chaplain works for goals that often are established by institutions outside the military; and he/she is subject to the authority of those institutions while being subject to those in command within the military. Yet chaplains are the only group of military officers who have to defend themselves at times (often among their civilian peers) of being "tools of the military establishment". The tension over which establishment is served if there is a difference in priorities is a soul wrenching tension at times that every Chaplain, whether in war or in peace has to struggle with; sometimes the answers don't come easily. I believe that military leaders who understand this institutional duality of the chaplaincy and its inherent conflict at times will help to enhance the ministry of those chaplains that they work with.

Perceived Conflicts as a Chaplain

A military chaplain serves in many different roles. Almost all of my first 6 years as a chaplain were spent with an airborne infantry unit. I jumped with them, slept with them froze with them, ate C-rations until I was sick of them with them, marched with them, got tired with them, and even became a jumpmaster in time and had the joy of inspecting their equipment and "kicking" them out the door of an airplane. During this whole time I also

co-pastored the troop chapel. My early years would probably reflect the majority of Army chaplain career patterns. By contrast, Air Force Chaplains, tend to be more traditionally chapel centered and their lives resolve more around parish life that more closely reflects that of their civilian counterparts. Navy Chaplains spend a great deal of their lives apart from their families on board ships ministering to sailors. That has its unique challenges and hardships.

Most of us spend a great deal of time sometime in our careers in administrative jobs apart from a chapel setting as I am doing now. My role identification has to be shifted somewhat away from seeing myself as a preacher or pastor, and yet I am still a "Chaplain". And in these roles we are yoked with clergypersons from other faith traditions, some which are very foreign to our own. Many of us were ill-prepared, either by seminary or in our parish experiences, for these new and sometimes difficult relationships.

Why are Some Folks Disappointed?

Why are some folks disappointed when they come into a chapel? Why have I found myself disappointed at times? I'm not sure I can answer that completely because each person is different, but let me try from my own experience. Have you ever attended a different church than your own and in saying the Lord's prayer as a congregation came to the place where you pray, "and forgive us our . . ." and waited to see whether the congregation would say, "*debts and debtors*" or "*trespasses and trespass* against us"? Or if perhaps you as a Protestant pray the "Lord's Prayer" in a Catholic Mass, you find yourself going on with the longer version of "for thine is the kingdom, and the power and the glory" etc. while all those around you have finished. In this universal prayer, I believe that we have a perfect example of what we face in our military chapel setting. We come from many different traditions; but each has grown quite comfortable in his/her own. I never saw an advent wreath until I became a Chaplain, and was really uncomfortable with this "liturgical expression" until I understood its tremendous significance in focusing the people of faith on the true meaning of Christmas throughout a whole Advent season rather than waiting until a few weeks or days before. It awakened a new sense of preparation and anticipation in my own life for the lighting of the center white candle which signified the coming of the Christ child. I never had thought of wearing a robe in the pulpit until I heard the good reasons for doing so. I believe that wearing a robe can help to focus the true meaning of the worship experience on God rather than focusing on what the chaplain is wearing—whether his tie matches his suit or whether her dress is too short or not stylish. A robe covers a chaplain so that our focus is shifted to the real reason we come to chapel—to worship the living God.

There are many traditions that we grow up and become comfortable with, which is part of being human. And when our "theological comfort zone" is tampered with, we *might* feel the new tradition is just not right and surely is not of God. Thus we might all find ourselves at times disappointed and we go off seeking the closest thing to what we have known in our past.

Dr. M. Scott Peck, in his well known book, *A Road Less Traveled* made a very important observation when he wrote, "Most of us operate from a narrower frame of reference than that of which we are capable, failing to transcend the influence of our particular culture, our particular set of parents and our particular childhood experience upon our understanding. It is no wonder, then, that the world of humanity is so full of conflict. We have a situation in which human beings, who must deal with each other, have vastly different views as to the nature of reality, yet each one believes his or her own view to be the correct one since it is based on the microcosm of personal experience. And to make matters worse, most of us are not even fully aware of our own world views, much less the uniqueness of the experience from which they are derived." (p. 192) And thus in our desire for familiarity we might miss new and meaningful expressions of our faith from each other.

Is it possible for us to learn from history? On a bitter cold January night in 1527, a boat on the River Limmat was carrying a man to his death. At his trial, Felix Manz had freely confessed to being a teacher of doctrines forbidden in Switzerland. His accuser and observer at his execution was none other than Ulrich Zwingli, Switzerland's heroic Protestant Reformer. Felix Manz was taken out into the River Limmat, his hands and feet bound, and he was thrown overboard to drown, to become one of the many executions that took place for the same offense. The offense that Zwingli had accused him of and for which he died was teaching that believer's baptism was the proper method of baptism. Protestant against Protestant. Christian against Christian. The Body of Christ at war among itself. I would challenge us to think deeply about what orthodoxy really is in the light of I Corinthians 13! You have perhaps heard the story of a person who dies and goes to heaven. He is being shown around and is led past all sorts of denominational groups singing praises to God. Led toward another one, the escort tells the person to be very quiet. "Why"? "Because they think they are the only ones here!!" If we could only listen to each other and grow from each other's richness. I baptize believers, yet I have seen many very meaningful infant baptisms in the services I have helped to lead. Yes, there are abuses when people see it as getting their baby "dunked" to never return to church again. We all know that part of ourselves that would like to believe we have a corner on the truth and if those other people would just believe the Bible they would believe like us. Yet, if we as leaders can see that there are many gray areas, and model acceptance and tolerance, I believe that this will help other people to mature and grow and experience the joy of new expressions of faith. Yes, there will be times of disappointment. I remember sitting under the ministry of a chaplain who just didn't seem to finish his sermons. He had good points and then quit. He just seemed to fall short of pressing for commitment. Oftentimes I left somewhat disappointed, yet many of the other things he did expressed his deep faith and drew people to that faith. If I had just given up, I would have lost out on a deep personal relationship with this man of God.

Conclusion

Have I ever felt limited in preaching the Gospel? I would say emphatically, “No!!” Are there some limitations? Perhaps in the perceptions of some. For instance, I am limited or I should say prohibited from denouncing another faith group or allowing any material to be present in my chapel that does so. I can believe and proclaim without censorship the words of Jesus “I am the way, the truth and the life, and that no one comes to the Father except by me.” But I cannot say “If you are of another faith tradition you are going to hell!” I am very comfortable with that tension; I believe it is not, never was, nor ever will be my role to say whether or not someone is condemned to hell. Fortunately that is in the hands of God who sees our hearts, and I believe there will be many surprises in heaven.

I can believe and proclaim “believer’s” baptism as my valid expression, yet I cannot say to another, “your infant baptism is wrong or invalid”. My limit comes when I am tempted to uplift my own faith by denouncing someone else’s. Some may call that a limitation—I call it tolerance. And the older I get, the more I realize that I do not have all the answers. I recall reading that someone once asked John Wesley, who often spoke out against the theology of John Whitfield, if he thought that he would ever see Whitfield in heaven. Wesley replied, “well, no—I suspect that he will be so far ahead of me that I’ll never catch up with him.” I’m not sure that conversation ever did take place, but from what I have read of John Wesley, it would be consistent with his theology to embrace those who would fellowship with him in worship of the living God in spite of theological differences.

In answer now, some 15 years after the question was put to me in seminary—I *can* be a Chaplain or minister in the military because I believe with all my heart that God loves these very special people, soldiers, who serve, suffer and sometimes are called to give up their lives in service to their country. He loves these just as much as He loves anyone else. I count it a distinct privilege to serve in the Armed Services as a Chaplain. I have been blessed, stretched in my theology and my understanding of truth. I have found that God does not belong to one denomination or creed. I have enjoyed working alongside Jews, Roman Catholics and members of many other Protestant faith groups who see things quite differently from me. And as God continues to keep the door open for me I will continue in this same calling with great expectation. Oftentimes I have exclaimed with C.S. Lewis that I have been “surprised by joy” at the grace and calling of God in my life.

Book Reviews

Uncovering Stories of Faith: Spiritual Direction and Narrative

Janet Ruffing, S.M.

Paulist Press, 1989. Softcover, 179 pages, \$9.95

Janet Ruffing is a member of the Sister's of Mercy. She teaches at Fordham University in spirituality and spiritual direction.

The potential for Janet Ruffing's approach to spiritual direction shows enormous possibilities. She wrestles with the problem many pastors have when they approach the spiritual direction interview. That is, that we may interpret the information psychologically or in some way make a diagnosis. But she suggests a method that fits with our seminary training in hermeneutics. Her idea is to approach a Gospel narrative and a story of faith told by a directee in the same way. Use the hermeneutical method on both to see what God is up to. Forget the diagnosis or Mental Health. Just look at the story of faith.

The early chapters of the book read easily. First is an historical review of the ministry of spiritual direction. Then case studies enliven the thesis of the book. Both of these features enticed me to read further.

Unfortunately the remainder of the chapters shifted to the theory of spiritual direction told in intellectually exclusive language. For example, she alluded frequently to Gadamer and his method of hermeneutics without helping the reader get on board. I felt like an outsider listening to friends talk in another language during the majority of the book.

In spite of promising potential, I did not like *Uncovering Stories of Faith*. The author chose words reserved for the intellectually elite. I hope that future books in spiritual direction will lean more toward the inclusive and practical. For the military chaplain, you will have to use your skills in translation as well as hermeneutics to transfer these ideas into your ministry.

Chaplain (CPT) David M. Scheider
U.S. Army

Julian of Norwich: Mystic and Theologian

Grace M. Jantzen

Paulist Press, New York, 1988. Paperback, 230 pages, \$9.95

Grace M. Jantzen received a doctorate in philosophy from the University of Calgary and in theology from Oxford University. She is a lecturer in philosophy of religion at King's College, London.

Jantzen hopes by writing this book "to make more widely known her (Julian's) insights into human personhood and its healing in rootedness in God." She succeeds.

Jantzen is a philosopher of religion and a Christian. These two orientations interest her in Julian and give her reason to write the book. She writes: "A Christian tries to pray, and to learn from giants of prayer in her tradition. A philosopher tries to think, and to understand what is true. A Christian philosopher tries to pray thoughtfully and to think prayerfully. In this effort of integration, Julian is a splendid guide."

The book has four parts. In the first, Jantzen writes about Julian's background. She admits little is known about Julian. The bare bones are these: Julian experienced a severe illness, saw a series of sixteen visions, wrote reflections on her visions, lived a life of prayer, and at some point became an anchoress. Julian was devout in her prayer life beginning at an early age. Whether or not she entered the anchorite before or after her illness, no one knows. Julian refers to the time of her illness and the visions, 8 May 1373. She was then "thirty and a half years old. Some twenty years later she wrote about her experience and reflection. Jantzen hopes by examining the context in which Julian lived to shed light on Julian's life.

In the second part, Jantzen writes about Julian's prayers and visions. Julian made three specific requests in her youthful prayerlife. She prayed to understand the passion of Christ, "not merely at an intellectual level, but at a level of personal participation." She prayed for a physical illness "so severe that she herself and everyone around her would think that she was dying." Finally, she prayed for "three wounds: true contrition, loving compassion, and the longing of the will for God." Her second prayer was answered when she was thirty. During her severe illness she experienced her visions. Since those visions involved the passion of Christ, one could also say she received the answer to her first prayer.

Jantzen writes about Julian's theology and practical applications in the third and fourth part, respectively. As Jantzen examines the theological dimensions of Julian's writing, Jantzen often compares Julian's positions with those of other theologians of classical stature. Julian was concerned with topics common to many of the classical theologians and teachers of spirituality. We only speculate how much of this material Julian knew.

Julian was a sensitive soul. She sought to be true to the teachings of the Church and to her own experience. Sometimes she experienced the two in conflict. Persistently, she worked toward resolution. She juxtaposes ideas so that her theology is often provocative.

Some of these thought provoking ideas follow. "Personhood is a reflection of divine wholeness." "Openness to experience is also ... open-

ness to its darker sides: depression, despair, fear, self-rejection.” Julian speaks of the “motherhood of God” and of “Jesus, our mother.” “The creative attributes of God which brought the world and ourselves into existence are the very same creative attributes which bring about our fulfillment.” “Sin is neither death nor delight, but when a soul deliberately chooses sin, which is pain, to be his god, in the end he is nothing at all.” “Sin is nothing.” “Sin itself will be rewarded.”

Some of these ideas jar the reader. Jantzen leads us through Julian’s arguments to show how she arrives at her conclusions. Julian’s mysticism and the concepts it allows stand in sharp contrast to modern ways of thinking. Nonetheless, Julian’s reflections are fascinating, insightful and often instructive.

Chaplain (CPT) Robert L. Flaherty
U.S. Army

Journey Without End

Carlo Carretto

Ave Maria Press, 1989. Softcover, 135 Pages, \$5.95

Carlo Carretto left the academic world at age 44 to join the Little Brothers of Jesus, an order inspired by Charles de Foucauld. He spent much of his time in the Sahara until permanently moved to the Order’s house in the Umbrian Hills near Assisi where he directed their retreat center. He died on 3 October, 1988. Br. Carretto authored many books. More popular titles include *Letters from the Desert*; *I, Francis*; *The God Who Comes*; and *The Desert in the City*.

From the title *Journey Without End*, one rightly assumes that this is another book about the “faith journey.” However, unlike the numerous psychological perspectives, the author presents a biblically speculative view. He proposes a pilgrimage beginning at conception and continuing throughout eternity until completed when we become part of God’s transcendent love that forgives all.

Starting with the assumption that eternal life is part of our creation by God, Br. Carretto notes how key spokespersons in society, including theologians, have lessened the value of life to where few believe it can be immortal. Rarely do people see death as a transition leading to a new quality of life that continues on; thus, many mourn as those who have no hope. To this the author raises the question what would happen if we took seriously the promise of eternal life?

Building on this foundation, the writer offers a view of spiritual growth as a “journey” beginning in physical life but also continuing afterwards. He sees seven stages in his pilgrimage. They progress from “the Exodus” experience to “the Desert” that leads to “the Dark Night.” Through this we realize “the Kingdom.” Then we move on to encounter God as “the Living One who does the impossible,” to know “the triumph of Jericho,” and to gain the summit surmounted by “the glorious Cross of the Risen Christ.”

I found this to be a genuinely "spiritual" alternative to many books about faith development. Br. Carretto is more poetic than analytical. Therefore, his stages are not as neat or precise as works like James Fowler's. This is not to imply, however, that his are less valid than others.

Journey Without End provides deep wells for the spirit to drink from, especially the concluding section outlining six days of prayer and meditation based on the book's chapter themes. Although I may not concur with all of the author's views, I certainly recommend this book as a rich source to help image a fuller vision of the faith journey.

Chaplain (CPT) John W. Gibbon
U.S. Army

**Blessed Are The Peacemakers:
Biblical Perspectives on Peace and Its Social Foundations**

Edited by Anthony J. Tambasco

New York: Paulist Press, 1989. Paper, 184 pages, \$8.95

Peace and Justice in the Scriptures of the World Religions

Denise Lardner Carmody and John Tully Carmody

New York: Paulist Press, 1988. Paper, 191 pages, \$9.95

A generation ago Roland Bainton's *Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace* was the benchmark and beginning point for theological study relating to issues of war and peace. Since then countless works have been written which struggle with the religious response to this subject. Some have been written from an explicitly Christian position while others reflect new concerns for the larger context of other religious traditions.

These two books reflect these two different perspectives. Tambasco's represents the collective efforts of a group of Roman Catholic theologians and biblical scholars who have sought to struggle with hermeneutical questions related to the use of biblical texts in Christian reflection and decision-making regarding peacemaking. As such, its rootedness in that tradition and the larger context of Christian biblical and ethical reflection is very evident. It's contributors struggle with images of community and God's work in those communities given in scripture as they relate to peace and justice issues. In doing this they looked to sources as diverse as the Old Testament and Wisdom literature, the Gospels, Paul and other biblical sources for the grounds of their reflection. How they wondered, can one link more clearly biblical teachings and ethical considerations of peace?

The Carmody's, in contrast, look to the larger horizon of the world religions and seek to ground their reflections on peace and justice issues in the diverse witness of their scriptures and the living faith communities they represent. Their concern is not so much for the particularities of any one tradition as it is for the commonalities which the many traditions share as they address peace and justice issues. The broad sweep of their consideration is evident in the sources consulted. They explore the Hindi *Bhagavad-Gita*, the

Buddhist *Dhammapada*, the Confucian *Analects*, the Taoist *Tao Te Ching*, the Jewish *Talmud*, and the Muslim *Qur'ran* to discover the wisdom of each tradition as it relates to understandings of how human beings can live together in peace. The uniqueness of each faith in this process is evident, and yet, the common themes and insights regarding how human beings may live together in peace are also clearly presented.

Both books invite the reader to seek a deeper understanding of the questions confronted by particular religious faiths as they seek to struggle with issues of peace and justice. One leads to an encounter with the Christian scriptures as they relate to issues of this kind. The other expands one's horizons, requiring both the breaking of boundaries and the seeing of the world in new ways. Together, they each have something to say to those who would search for peace in our world from within the boundaries of their particular faith tradition or seek to share in such a search with others.

Eric C. Holmstrom
Issaquah, Washington

The Sermons of St. Maximus of Turin

Maximus of Turin (Translated by Boniface Ramsey, O.P.)

Newman Press, 1989. Hardcover, 388 pages.

Volume fifty of the series *Ancient Christian Writers* contain the sermons of this lesser known contemporary of Ambrose. Very little is known about him. The only reference to Maximus in Christian antiquity appears in the late fifth-century catalogue of Christian authors compiled by Gennadius of Marseilles, *De viris inlustribus*:

Maximus, bishop of the church of Turin, a man fairly capable in the sacred Scriptures and able to teach the people as the occasion demanded, composed sermons in praise of the apostles and of John the Baptist and a general homily in praise of all the martyrs. (p. 1)

These sermons are a good example of the popular preaching of the day. Unlike the sermons of Ambrose or Augustine, which read more like treatises, here we discover the popular, extemporaneous homiletic directed to the rural congregation. One will not find here great works of rhetoric, but direct and sober sermons directed to a people still infected by pagan customs and Arianism. Maximus lays particular stress on the ascetic themes of fasting and giving of alms. In fact, in one of his Lenten sermons, he reproaches those in his congregation who are not observing the fast and warns them to be afraid lest he smell food on their breath when they exchange the kiss of peace with him during the liturgy (p. 118). There is little systematic instruction in biblical truths here. What we do find is a mastery in the use of imagery. Maximus anticipates the medieval piety with his imagery of the ascended Christ still mysteriously suffering from the wounds of his passion receiving comfort from his Father (p. 111). In sum, Maximus is a preacher who is gifted, not in brilliance of theological speculation, but in simple, beautiful sermons that are direct and easy to understand. Here is a penetrat-

ing insight into the life of a bishop and his rural flock during the patristic age of the church.

Chaplain (CPT) Steve Feriante
U.S. Army

The Crossroad Children's Bible

Andrew Knowles

Crossroad Publications, 1983. Softcover, 447 pages, Price \$7.95

The Crossroad Children's Bible captures for the young reader the essence of the Biblical story. It is written in a narrative form, including 79 stories from the Old Testament and 58 from the New Testament. The readers' thoughts and imagination are brought into the story through colorful illustrations and lively characters.

Though this is not a verse by verse text broken down into books and chapters, the table of contents directs the reader to the book and chapter of the story being told. I am impressed with the wide coverage of the Biblical narrative. Beyond the typical themes of the patriarchs and life of Jesus the reader will read about King Ahab, Mount Carmel, the judges and prophets and even the exile. The New Testament concentrates on the life and teachings of Jesus and also selected stories from the rest of the New Testament. Some of the topics are Paul's messages to Corinth and Ephesus, The Runaway Slave, and the Visions of John.

This should be a welcomed resource for family devotions, religious education, and children's church.

Chaplain (CPT) James G. Leston
U.S. Army

Child Abuse and the Church: A New Mission

James J. Mead and Glenn M. Balch, Jr.

HDL Publishing Co., (Costa Mesa, CA), 1987. Paper, 146 pages, \$9.95

Dr. Balch is Senior Minister of Brea United Church, Chairman of the Board of Directors of For Kids Sake, and holds graduate degrees in several areas to include law and psychology.

James Mead holds degrees in criminal justice and in human behavior. He is a former police officer and the Executive Director of For Kids Sake.

The thesis of this book is that child abuse exists within the religious community, and that all religious workers must be prepared to deal with it. This reviewer has had to deal with child abuse in every troop-unit assignment. He spends two hours discussing child abuse in the Basic Chaplain Officer Course at the Army Chaplain School. In every class clergy have shared with him that they came from a background of physical, mental, psychological or sexual abuse.

The sixteen chapters include: historical background, religious role, screening staff, cause, legal issues and liability, identification, the treatment system, victims and resources.

This book belongs in the library of all church workers from the pastor to the Sunday School teacher. It is likely that all of our churches have families whose members have either experienced abuse or neglect in the past, or are currently in an abusive situation. To those who have experienced it in the past, it will help one to understand and provide pastoral support in the present. To those who are currently in abusive situations, it will help one to fulfill the legal and moral obligations to intervene. The chapters on identification alone make this book well worth buying.

Chaplain (MAJ) Temple G. Matthews III
U.S. Army

Holy Terror: Inside the World of Islamic Terrorism

Amir Taheri

Adler & Adler, 1987. Hardcover, 332 pages, \$19.95

Amir Taheri, an expatriate Iranian, is the former editor of Iran's largest daily newspaper, *Kayhan*. He was the first journalist to report on recruitment and training of terrorists by the Islamic Republic. In 1986 he published a biography of the Ayatollah Khomeini, *The Spirit of Allah*.

Amir Taheri explains in clear terms what motivates fanatical fundamentalist groups, where they are going, and how they plan to get there. The book arises from the authors' belief that Americans, even in high political offices like the White House, are woefully ignorant about how to cope with Muslim terrorists.

What to do about the terrorists is complicated by confusion over who are the terrorist groups. Unfamiliarity with Islamic names and terms further complicates the issue for Westerners.

Taheri takes the complicated situation and begins to bring clarity to the topic. He provides a brief historical background to the development of the Party of Allah. He further presents a background to the rise of the Ayatollah Khomeini and the terrorism efforts in various Middle East countries.

Early in the narrative Taheri explains that there are five types of terrorist groups in the world. (1) "National", which are active basically within given nation or state boundaries; (2) "Urban guerrillas", political groups engaged in "gang warfare" with police; (3) Latin American terrorist groups; (4) Those which simply seek publicity for a cause; and, (5) Islamic groups. This last type is a new phenomenon differing from other groups in at least three ways. "First, it rejects all the contemporary ideologies in their various forms. . . . Second, it is clearly conceived and conducted as a form of Holy War which can only end when total victory has been achieved. . . . Third, it forms the basis of a whole theory both of individual conduct and state policy" (pages 14-16). Taheri carefully elaborates on each of these points in a convincing manner.

This book gives many details important to understanding Islamic terrorism. After reading the book, it becomes clearer why not only non-

Islamicism have trouble with these terrorist groups. The groups themselves war with each other.

The book presents clearly the religious rather than political motivation to Islamic terrorism. This aspect alone makes true dialogue, by definition, impossible. The Islamic focus is conversion of the world to Islam, by force, if necessary. With this goal, anything less is unacceptable.

This book has much helpful information about Islam and about Islamic terrorist groups. The book is one to read more than once. The presentation is clear, the subject is complicated. Taheri provides good background for the newly interested, as well as advanced information for those experienced with the basic material.

The UMT will benefit from exposure to this book. The anticipated rise in the Muslim population of the world over the next decade and the chaplaincy goal of knowing about multiple religions, are reasons enough to read Taheri's excellent presentation. Anyone looking for a training topic has ample material in this book to develop a meaningful class. I found the book promoted in a newsletter for threat managers. I'm glad I had access to the material.

Chaplain (MAJ) Kenneth M. Ruppar
U.S. Army

Seventh-day Adventists Believe . . . : A Biblical Exposition of 27 Fundamental Doctrines

Ministerial Association of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists

Review & Herald Publishing Assoc., Hagerstown, MD, 1988. Hardcover, 392 pages, \$4.95

The primary author of this work is P.G. Damsteegt a former Dutch aeronautical engineer. In 1977 he was given a Doctor of Theology degree by the Free Reformed University of Amsterdam. In addition, a large committee of 194 persons, and a smaller committee of 27 church officials and theologians participated in writing this book.

This book was written to provide reliable information as to how Seventh-day Adventists understand and practice their 27 doctrinal statements. It contains 27 chapters. Each chapter has the official doctrinal statement on the facing page beginning: "Seventh-day Adventists Believe . . ." The succeeding chapter then contains the exposition as to how Seventh-day Adventists understand and practice this belief.

It is stated that this book "is not an officially voted statement . . . [but is] representative of 'the truth . . .' that Seventh-day Adventists . . . cherish and proclaim." [Page iv] Yet, the emphasis on the thousands of hours spent in research and evaluation by various committees seems to indicate that it is an official statement. This clearly reminds this reviewer of the situation of earlier years, when this church produced *Questions on Doctrine* and individual church leaders were able to state that *Questions on Doctrine* was not really reliable.

It seems to be written in the style of a preacher presenting a sermon [see page 37] rather than a scholarly work. This may suggest that the general audience is Seventh-day Adventist, and the purpose is to unify Seventh-day Adventists in a common understanding and practice.

Seventh-day Adventists do not have a well defined and developed theology. Consequently there are differences of understanding and practice among them. This book does almost nothing to indicate these differences. Many would see the incarnate nature of Christ as different from that presented by the author [page 47]. Others, while accepting the creationist position, would not agree that our solar system was created 6,000 years ago.

Contrary to the inference on page 226, Ellen White, as stated in Arthur White's six volume biography of Ellen White, received the credentials of an ordained minister.

While this book has failed to present a balanced picture of how Seventh-day Adventists understand and practice their doctrinal statements, it is a book that belongs in the library of those who desire to understand them. It does contain the officially voted beliefs. It presents the position of many conservative Seventh-day Adventists. It is the newest and best that is available. But, one must remember that it is not a litmus test to determine who is a Seventh-day Adventist. There are those sincere committed people within this church who differ from the picture present in this book.

Chaplain (MAJ) Temple G. Matthews
U.S. Army

Touch The Angel's Hand: A Family's Struggle With Depression

Pam Martin

Meyer-Stone Books, 1988. Softcover, 79 pages, \$6.95

"This book sketches a portrait of depression and the physical, spiritual, and psychological scars it leaves. The book also deals with healing on all four fronts. It is written in the hope that other ordinary people may find consolation and encouragement in such sharing." (Preface)

Pam Martin, daughter, wife, mother, shares her personal and family struggles with depression. Pam unfolds the threads of emotional and spiritual pain and growth experienced by her family from 1973–85. A major factor in her struggle is getting assistance for Nathan, her severely deaf son. She shares the affliction of depression for each family member and the difficult search for a psychiatrist who can really relate to her son. A non-technical discussion of depression including genetic predisposition and treatment is valuable for those wanting insight to depression.

The book is easy to read and a positive experience, too. As fellow author John Claypool writes in his foreword, "Pam has encountered God in the same place I have—among the insignificant details of the everydayness of everyday . . . She is authentically honest about what she has lived through and continues to live with in terms of her own depression and that of her hearing-impaired, beloved, son . . . you who now hold this volume in your hand have a rare privilege in store."

Use the book for insight into depression or share it with others struggling with depression. A brief reading list closes the book. Easy to read, meditative in tone, check it out!

Chaplain (MAJ) Kenneth M. Ruppar
U.S. Army

The Myth of Atlas: Families and the Therapeutic Story

Maurizio Andolfo, Claudio Angelo, and Marcella De Nichilo

Brunner/Mazel Publishers; New York, NY; 1989. Hardcover, 256 pages, \$28.50

All of the authors of this volume which deals with family systems therapy are connected with the Rome Institute For Family Therapy. The book represents the latest chapter in their continued development of theory and technique. The 'new' that is presented here is a greater awareness and emphasis on a multi-generational approach to understanding families that incorporates the concept of family myth. Family myth is the unique and inherited self-understanding of a family that "Is constructed through a network of events, characters, roles, and symbolic contents bound together and in which organizing elements that have a special importance in outlining a theme stand out," (p. 93).

The authors illustrate this concept of family myth as well as their current thinking on other family systems concepts throughout the body of the book. They deal with such concepts as joining, triadic relationships, and provocation. Also included is a very good discussion of play in therapy. The considerable power of play to provoke the system is seen in the way we "Test reality in a paradoxical way through our play, performing 'acts' of reality in a context which, however, denies this reality," (p. 68).

The final chapter is a lengthy case study which provides a comprehensive illustration of all the concepts discussed. In this final chapter we also being to make sense of the book's intriguing title: *The Myth of Atlas*. Here the ancient Greek mythical figure of Atlas is used as a therapeutic tool to help a confused family member understand how burdensome the weight of HIS world can be. This, as well as all other illustrations and case studies, are very helpful and appropriate in their use.

This is not an introduction to family systems theory. The authors assume a prior knowledge of this school of therapy. Neither is it very helpful to those who are familiar with systems theory for much of the material here can be found in more accessible works. I find the writing to lack clarity and precision (possibly because it is a translation). There is, however, a very good glossary which is virtually a condensed version of the salient points of discussion in the book. Yet, I would look elsewhere for a thought provoking or even introductory book on family systems theory.

Chaplain (CPT) Michael E. Jenkins
U.S. Army

Crises and Growth

Dr. Anita J. Spencer

Paulist Press, New York: 1989. Softcover, 149 pages, \$7.95

About the Author: Dr. Spencer, Ph.D., is a licensed Psychotherapist with a Doctorate in Clinical Psychology and Masters in Marriage, Family and Child Counseling. She is a frequent lecturer on personal growth and personal potential and the author of "Seasons" and "Mothers."

The author draws from her Roman Catholic background, from the experiences of others and from her academic work to provide a step-by-step map through crises toward positive growth.

This guide from crisis to growth is very readable and appropriate for both counselor and laity, for both academic and leisure reading. Quotations from the Bible and other literary treasurers are used as thoughts to reflect upon and each section includes a list of "questions to ask yourself" in order to evaluate progress toward wellness.

I believe the book would be very helpful with groups of young soldiers and/or family members who are experiencing crises and for discussion during individual sessions with a chaplain or other counselor.

Chaplain (COL) Jim McKinney
U.S. Army

Military Chaplains' Review

(USPS 590-430)

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